John Donne and the Thirty Years' War : religion, diplomacy and law

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Religion, Diplomacy, and Law

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Abstract

Focussing on John Donne's sermons, 1615-1631, this thesis aims to show how the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War contributed in a so far unexplored way to the development of Donne's oratory. The 160 extant sermons have received little attention from critics since they were first published in a standard modern edition (1953-1962), with studies typically using the sermons as merely illustrative material, without reference to chronology or occasion. My research seeks to resituate Donne's sermons of the 1620s in their historical and literary contexts by reading them in the light of Privy Council records, diplomatic correspondence, newsbooks, and parliamentary diaries; the writings of contemporaries such as Lancelot Andrewes, Joseph Hall, and Henry King; and Donne's own letters, prose, and poems. In so doing, I aim to restore and reconsider the contemporary resonance of Donne's sermons in their broader international context; and to show how, in light of events in Europe, Donne coloured his distinctive rhetorical style, or *elocutio*, to suit each sermon's text, occasion, and auditory.

The thesis focusses in particular on two hitherto neglected contexts for the flexible, pragmatic nature of Donne's pulpit oratory: his knowledge of foreign affairs, and his training in legal thought. My research seeks to show how Donne's long-standing interest in the protocols, principles and rhetoric of diplomacy – enriched by his first-hand experience as chaplain to a 1619 embassy to Germany – contributed to the subtly allusive form of his scriptural exposition. The thesis also aims to demonstrate Donne's adroit use of the precepts and techniques of civil and common law and casuistry to make veiled reference to proscribed topics in the public sphere. By attending to the legal and diplomatic contexts of Donne's sermons preached during the opening years of the Thirty Years' War, therefore, I hope to show that the casuistic nature of his oratory may be understood in a more sophisticated way than by saying merely that a certain sermon or text is preached according to a priori factors of theological doctrine or political interest.

Contents

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The Arts and Humanities Research Council supported my research. I am grateful to them, and to the courtesy of the staffs at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Cambridge University Library, Dr Williams's Library, London, the East Sussex Record Office, Guildhall Library, the Huntington Library, California, the libraries of the Institute of Historical Research, London, King's College London, Lambeth Palace, Lincoln's Inn, the National Archives, Kew, the libraries of the Royal College of Physicians, St Paul's Cathedral, University College London, the University of London, and the Warburg Institute, London. I am especially grateful for the unstinting assistance given to me by Mr Stuart Adams, Senior Librarian at the Middle Temple Library, London.

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Abbreviations & Conventions

BL	British Library, London
Bald	R. C. Bald, *John Donne. A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
Chamberlain, *Letters*	Norman E. McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939)
Del.	Records of the Court of Delegates (in the National Archives)
D'Ewes	*The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, ed. by James Halliwell, 2 vols* (Richard Bentley, 1845)
Gardiner, *Letters*	S. R. Gardiner, ed., *Letters and other documents illustrating the relations between England and Germany at the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. From the outbreak of the Revolution in Bohemia to the Election of the Emperor Ferdinand II*, 2 vols (The Camden Society, 1865-68)
Gosse	Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St Paul's*, 2 vols (William Heinemann, 1899)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Keynes	Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr John Donne*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
Letters	John Donne, *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, ed. by John Donne Jr (1651)
NA	National Archives, Kew, Surrey (formerly the Public Record Office)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)[1]
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
Parker	Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War*, 2nd edn (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1997)

[1] The thesis takes into account all *ODNB* on-line updates up to October 2005.

Poems	*The Complete English Poems of John Donne*, ed. by C. A. Patrides, 2nd edn (J. M. Dent & Sons, 1994)
Sermons	*The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953-62)
SP	State Papers
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, first compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, Vol. 3, printers' & publishers' index, other indexes & appendices, cumulative addenda & corrigenda by Katharine F. Pantzer, with a chronological index compiled by Philip R. Rider, rev. edn (Bibliographical Society, 1991)
Tobie Mathews	*A Collection of Letters made by Sr Tobie Mathews Kt*, ed. by John Donne Jr (1660)
ULC	University Library of Cambridge
Variorum	Gary Stringer, gen. ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, 8 vols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995-)
Walton, *Lives*	Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert*, 4th edn (1675)

<u>Journals</u>

EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELH	*Journal of English Literary History*
EMLS	*Early Modern Literary Studies*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
JDJ	*John Donne Journal: Studies in the Age of Donne*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
N&Q	*Notes & Queries*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Languages Association*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SEL	*Studies in English Literature*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*

Scholarly conventions

All dates from English sources (and unless otherwise indicated) are English Old Style (Julian calendar), except that the beginning of the new year is taken to be 1 January. In quoting from early modern texts I retain contemporary spelling, punctuation and capitalisation. This to minimise silent editorial emendation and to preserve, as far as possible, authorial original practice.[2] There are, however, two exceptions. The use of long 's' is standardised silently, and ligatures and common marks of abbreviation are expanded. Other contractions and abbreviations are expanded within square brackets.

Biblical quotations are from the King James ('Authorized') Version of 1611, unless otherwise stated. Single inverted commas are used for direct quotation, except when text is indented. Single inverted commas are also used for titles of articles contained in books or journals. Reference format in the body of text, footnotes, and bibliography follows that of the Modern Humanities Research Association (MHRA). The first reference in each chapter is given in full, and in short form thereafter. The place of publication in a referenced work is London unless otherwise indicated. In quotation from primary sources, I follow early modern printing conventions, e.g. where an italic typeface is used to distinguish scriptural citation, languages other than English, proper nouns, and for authorial emphasis. In referring to secondary sources I also use italic type for the titles of modern books and journals.

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[2] Printer's errors, however, are emended and acknowledged where relevant.

Notes on sources and text

Sermon manuscripts and printed folios

No autograph manuscripts of Donne's sermons are known to survive. However, there are eight early manuscript copies of sermons by Donne, from sources independent of any printed text.[3] During Donne's lifetime a number of separate sermons were printed and reissued; and after his death three folio editions of his sermons were published (*LXXX Sermons*, 1640; *Fifty Sermons*, 1649; *XXVI Sermons*, 1661). The sermons then remained out of print until 1839, when Henry Alford's edition of Donne's works made the sermons available to nineteenth-century readers. In 1962, Donne's 160 extant sermons were published in ten volumes, edited by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, in what has become the standard edition.[4]

Poems, letters, and other prose

The only autograph of Donne's poetry known to have survived is the verse epistle written to Lady Carey, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Eng. poet. d. 197).[5] The earliest printed edition is the folio *Poems* of 1633 (*STC* 7045). My quotation of Donne's poetry is from the newly edited critical text of the *Variorum* edition where available. The *Variorum* texts are based on exhaustive study and collation of all

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[3] For a full description of these manuscripts, see *Sermons*, I, 33-45; *Keynes*, pp. 24-26; and bibliography below, p. 273.

[4] *Sermons*. All quotations are from this edition. Volume and page number references follow each quotation in square brackets.

[5] Peter Beal, ed., *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, Vol. I: 1450-1625 (Mansell Publishing, 1980), pp. 397-98.

known manuscript sources and significant printed editions of Donne's poetry.[6] Where *Variorum* volumes have yet to appear, I have quoted from the modern edition of C. A. Patrides and, where relevant, from Helen Gardner's edition of *The Divine Poems*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1978). Both of these modern editions are substantially based on the *Poems* of 1633 and later seventeenth-century printed editions, and record significant textual differences from the manuscripts in the footnotes.

Thirty-eight of Donne's original prose letters are extant.[7] Two collections of Donne's correspondence were printed by his son, John Donne Jr, in *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour* (1651), and *A Collection of Letters made by Sr Tobie Mathews Kt* (1660). A number of unpublished letters were later printed by Edmund Gosse in *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899).[8] In the absence of a modern standard edition of the letters, my quotation of Donne's correspondence is drawn from the earliest possible source in each case.

I have used standard modern editions for quotation from other prose works by Donne – including *Paradoxes and Problems*, *Biathanatos*, *Pseudo-Martyr*, *Ignatius His Conclave*, *Essays in Divinity*, and *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*. These editions offer critical texts derived from a full collation of all known manuscript sources and early printed editions, and are listed in the bibliography below, pp. 281-83.

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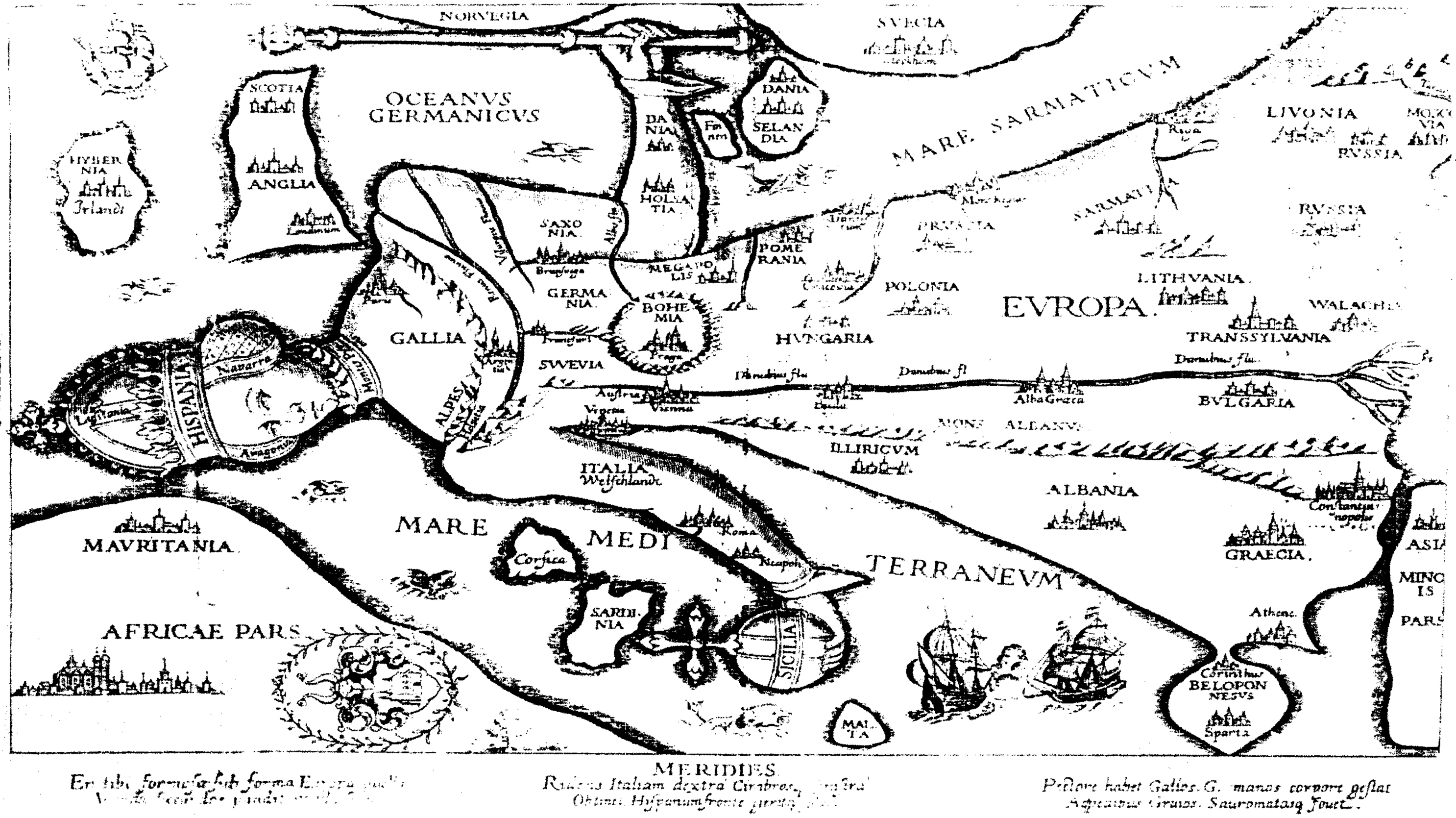
[6] Three of the eight planned volumes of the *Variorum* had been published by October 2005: Vol. 6, *The Anniversaries and the Epicedes and Obsequies* (1995); Vol. 8, *The Epigrams, Epithalamions, Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Miscellaneous Poems* (1995); and Vol. 2, *The Elegies* (2000).

[7] Beal, *Index*, I, 243-44.

[8] For discussion of the printed texts of Donne's correspondence, see *Keynes*, pp. 133-59.

EVROPA PRIMA PARS TERRÆ IN FORMA VIRGINIS.

SEPTENTRIO.



Note: map by Heinrich Bünting (Braunschweig: Balthasar Grubern, 1638).

Introduction

Placed prominently above an engraving of a bust of the author, the frontispiece of John Donne's *LXXX Sermons* (1640) carries Jesus's decree to his apostles in Matthew 10.16: 'Be Wise as Serpents but inocent as Dovs.' This thesis aims to show how Donne's pulpit oratory exemplifies this dictum. My discussion focusses in particular on Donne's sermons preached between 1619 and 1631, which, as I hope to argue, demonstrate how the outbreak of confessional and constitutional conflict in mainland Europe impinged upon British public life to a greater degree than is generally realised. In 1619 the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by Frederick, Elector Palatine, son-in-law to James I, was, as John Chamberlain put it, 'like to set all Christendome by the eares.'[1] Popular, parliamentary and court responses to events in the Palatinate during these years found a wide range of literary expression. State papers, patent rolls, pamphlets, corantos, letters, diaries, sermons, plays, poetry and broadside ballads all testify to public and private tumult, brought to a pitch in 1620 by the defeat inflicted upon the Count Palatine by Catholic forces at the Battle of White Mountain.[2] Discord over the course of British foreign policy sharply divided both the Jacobean Church and the State. On the one hand there was popular, parliamentary and ecclesiastical willingness to offer military support to the Palatinate. On the other hand was the disinclination of King James VI & I to intervene.[3]

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[1] In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, 11 September 1619. (Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 264.)

[2] Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 1-38.

[3] Parker, pp. 53-63. See also Simon Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in *Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe, 2nd edn (Methuen, 1978), pp. 139-72 (pp. 130-52).

In these years, John Donne delivered public sermons in a variety of roles: as chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, as Reader in Divinity at Lincoln's Inn, as Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, and as chaplain to James Hay, Viscount Doncaster's embassy to Germany in 1619. The extent to which Donne's sermons in this period display a marked responsiveness to events in Germany has been little regarded, and there has been scant critical attention paid to how Donne coloured his pulpit oratory to suit each sermon's text, occasion, and auditory in the light of international concerns. As well as in his sermons, Donne's literary engagement with foreign affairs in these years is also evident in his holy sonnet 'Show me Deare Christ', his translation of the 'Lamentations of Jeremy', and in his correspondence with, among others, Henry Goodere, Thomas Lucy, Tobie Matthew and Dudley Carleton.[4] As I hope to show, attendance to Donne's response to the upheavals of the Thirty Years' War can shed fresh light not only on the contemporary resonance of his writings of the early 1620s, but on the elusive nature of his political and religious orientation in these years. Recent claims for Donne's religious identity, for example, have ranged widely across the theological, political, and ecclesiastical spectrum: from 'Donne of the puritan imagination', to Donne the 'conformist Calvinist' and 'Donne the Arminian.'[5] Such interpretative confusion derives in part, I would suggest, from the merely illustrative

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[4] *Poems*, pp. 350, 373-85; *Letters*, pp. 174, 222; *Tobie Mathews*, pp. 336-37; Gosse, II, 133-34. For Donne's literary references to the Thirty Years' War, see Appendix I below, pp. 261-64.

[5] Daniel W. Doerksen, '"Saint Paul's Puritan": John Donne's "Puritan" Imagination in the Sermons', in *John Donne's Religious Imagination: Essays in Honor of John T. Shawcross*, ed. by Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances Malpezzi (Conway: University of Central Arkansas Press, 1995), pp. 350-65; Paul R. Sellin, *John Donne and 'Calvinist' Views of Grace* (Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel, 1983); and Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 182.

use of Donne's 160 extant sermons. Quotations serve as proof-texts for interpretations of Donne's theology or politics, with only passing reference to chronology or to occasion.[6] By contrast, my research focusses on the specific preaching occasions of Donne's sermons. By drawing on recent revisions in the field of Reformation historiography – that elucidate the array of fluctuating, non-ideological types of conformity to be found in the English Church of the period – my study aims to resituate the flexible, pragmatic nature of Donne's scriptural exegesis in both its domestic and international contexts.[7]

In its focus on the discreet yet judicious nature of Donne's exegesis during the first decade of the Thirty Years' War, this thesis builds in particular on Jeanne Shami's recent study of the politic nature of Donne's churchmanship, and Mary Papazian's demonstration of Donne's concern throughout the 1620s for the international Protestant *causa communis*.[8] Where I go beyond such accounts, however, is in the examination of two hitherto neglected contexts for the understanding of Donne's pulpit oratory in these years: his knowledge and experience of foreign affairs, and his training in legal thought. R. C. Bald's *John Donne. A Life*, which remains the standard historical biography, hints at Donne's involvement in

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[6] For example, Jeffrey Johnson, *The Theology of John Donne* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), esp. pp. 12-23; and Gale H. Carrithers Jr and James D. Hardy Jr, 'Love, Power, Dust Royall, Gavelkinde: Donne's Politics', *JDJ*, 11.1-2 (1992), 39-58.

[7] Recent studies of the spectrum of religious allegiance in this period that I have found useful include: Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics & Religion in England, 1580-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993).

[8] Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003); Papazian, 'John Donne and the Thirty Years' War', *JDJ*, 19 (2000), 235-66.

international matters, suggesting that he may have been 'employed to correspond with agents abroad on affairs affecting the welfare of the Church.'[9] Paul Sellin, from his rich scholarship on the diplomatic contexts of Donne's chaplaincy to the 1619 Doncaster embassy, has also proposed that Donne's sermons may have been designed 'to complement, perhaps even augment' Doncaster's official orations.[10] Nevertheless, the extent of Donne's involvement in foreign affairs is still not widely acknowledged or fully discussed. This may reflect a tendency in academic practice to divide historical and literary scholarship into 'British' on the one hand and 'Continental' on the other hand. The paucity of primary testimony (few letters survive from Donne's travels abroad on State or Church business) may also have hindered recognition of his involvement in foreign affairs. Donne himself hints in a 1619 letter that the risk of sensitive correspondence going astray might be sufficient cause for his not writing when travelling abroad.[11] Nevertheless, it has not been adequately reported that internal evidence from the sermons reveals Donne's repeated and pointed use of metaphors of embassy or ambassadorship.[12] Such 'ambassadorial' images draw in particular on II Corinthians 5.20 in which preachers are portrayed as emissaries from God to man: 'Now then we are ambassadors for Christ'. For example, in an undated sermon preached on this text at St Paul's, Donne suggests that the Christian minister,

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[9] Bald, p. 315.

[10] Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), p. 109.

[11] *Letters*, p. 222; Gosse, II, 126-27. However, as Bald suggests (p. 18), there remains the possibility that letters written in Latin or French by Donne from England, to foreign correspondents abroad, may still await discovery in one or more European archives.

[12] Selected examples of Donne's depiction of priests as God's ambassadors can be found in *Sermons*, IV, 224; VII, 410; VIII, 140, 166-67; X, 120, 126-31.

in his relation to his auditory, is subject to 'those two laws which binde Ambassadours':

> First, *Rei suæ ne quis legatus esto*, Let no man be received as an Ambassadour, that hath that title, onely to negotiate for himself, and doe his own businesse in that Country; And then, *Nemini credatur sine principali mandato*, Let no man be received for an Ambassadour, without his Letters of Credence, and his Masters Commission. [X, 126.]

Donne's frequent adoption of such figures of speech, I suggest, seems to indicate a deeper concern with the principles, protocols and rhetorical art of international diplomacy than has previously been recognised. As I shall argue, Donne's thoroughgoing interest in the conduct of foreign affairs contributes significantly to the language and interpretative methods of his own subtly allusive form of biblical exegesis.

The second context for my discussion of Donne's nuanced calibration of conscience is his legal training. The broad question of juridical influence on Donne's scriptural exegesis comprises a number of biographical and formal aspects. These include Donne's education in civil law at Oxford University, and in common law at Lincoln's Inn. He also engaged in further private study of canon and civil law preparatory to his writing of *Biathanatos* (1607) and *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610); and from 1622 to 1631 Donne was frequently appointed as a judge-delegate in the higher Church courts. Donne's sermons in this period also demonstrate his lawyerly deployment of the precepts and techniques of practical divinity, or casuistry, in resolving cases of conscience. As with the trope of ambassadorship, Donne draws frequent parallels in his sermons between the roles of the preacher and the lawyer,

even suggesting (in a 1622 St Paul's address) that 'preaching in the *Church* comes to bee as pleading at the Barre'. [IV, 197.][13]

To a certain extent, scholars in recent years have acknowledged the significance of Donne's legal knowledge to his writing. Expositors have noted Donne's 'lasting engagements [...] with the *idea* of law and with its language';[14] and Jeremy Maule and Robert Ornstein, among others, have drawn attention to Donne's engagement with both the normative principles of civil law and the pragmatic methods of English common law.[15] Camille Slights and Meg Lota Brown have demonstrated the significance of Roman Catholic and Protestant casuistry for Donne's poetry and prose;[16] and Jeanne Shami, in her ongoing study of the question of Donne's religious and political conformity, has suggested that Donne's 'casuistical discourse' reflects 'a lifelong pattern of adjudicating conflicting moral claims rather than polarizing

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[13] Examples of Donne's analogy between preaching and legal advocacy and judgement are many. Selected instances can be found in *Sermons*, II, 105; VI, 93; VII, 443; VIII, 141, 179; IX, 121, 147.

[14] Jeremy Maule, 'Donne and the Words of the Law', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 19-36 (p. 20).

[15] *Ibid.*; Ornstein, 'Donne, Montaigne, and Natural Law', in *Essential Articles for the Study of John Donne's Poetry*, ed. by John R. Roberts (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1975), pp. 129-41. Other studies that focus on Donne's engagement with common, civil, and canon law include Geoffrey Bullough, 'Donne The Man of Law', in *Just So Much Honor*, ed. by Peter A. Fiore (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972), pp. 57-93; Carrithers and Hardy, 'Love, Power, Dust Royall, Gavelkinde: Donne's Politics'; Arthur Lindley, 'John Donne, "Batter My Heart", and English Rape Law', *JDJ*, 17 (1998), 75-88.

[16] Slights, *The Casuistical Tradition in Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert and Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), Ch. 4; Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). See also Jeanne Shami, 'John Donne's Protestant Casuistry: Cases of Conscience in the Sermons', *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 53-66.

them.'[17] Yet such initial observations require further elucidation with regard to Donne's actual exegetical practice. How, for example, might Donne's use of courtroom methods of evidence and persuasion (which themselves frequently derive from classical rhetorical theories of artificial and inartificial proofs) have enabled discreet allusion to proscribed topics of current interest in the early 1620s? Similarly, how might Donne's knowledge of jurisprudence have shaped his treatment of cases of conscience relating, for example, to conflicts of confessional and political allegiance arising from the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War?

The relative neglect of the practical legal dimension of Donne's work may derive in part, as Jeremy Maule observed, from the fact that it is simply no easy matter to hold together the whole picture of law in early modern England, including: legal practice; legal theory; prerogative justice; emerging international, canon, criminal, civil, statute, and judge-made law.[18] In recent years, scholarly interest in connexions between early modern secular law and literature has grown significantly, under the general rubric of studies in 'law and literature'. So far, however, such research has tended to concentrate on the reception of Shakespeare's works rather than on early modern sermons.[19] Yet it seems clear that methods of textual interpretation such as forensic scrutiny, comparative textual analysis, and use of trial procedure (i.e.

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[17] *Conformity in Crisis*, p. 21.

[18] Maule, 'Donne and the Words of the Law', pp. 22-23.

[19] For an overview of the academic tradition of 'law and literature' studies, reaching back to Plato's disparagement of both sophists and poets, see Michael Freeman and Andrew D. E. Lewis, *Law and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. xi-xxv. See also B. J. Sokol & Mary Sokol, eds, *Shakespeare's Legal Language: A Dictionary* (Athlone, 2000); and Lorna Hutson and Victoria Khan, eds, *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 1-5.

arraignment, evidence, witnesses, judgement, sentence, execution) are common facets of both legal and scriptural hermeneutics. Such methodological kinship, I would suggest, is evident in the mentality behind Donne's pulpit oratory of the early 1620s. Yet while Donne's mentality in his sermons preached against the backdrop of the Bohemia-Palatinate conflict can be shown to be that of a lawyer, this thesis aims to show in specific detail how Donne exploits legal language as one resource among others in the larger pastoral vocation of guiding souls to salvation.

The six chapters of this thesis are arranged in chronological order, so as to situate Donne's sermons in their consecutive historical contexts. My approach is also broadly biographical insofar as I seek to trace connexions between Donne's training and experience in law and statecraft, and the casuistic nature of his homiletic prose. However, in contrast to more general studies, such as those by John Carey or David Edwards, the focus of my biographical method is chiefly historical and rhetorical, not psychological.[20] Thus, the opening chapter of this thesis draws on letters, poems, sermons and diplomatic records in the National Archives at Kew, to show that Donne was involved to a greater extent than has previously been noted with international affairs prior to the Doncaster embassy of 1619. This biographical insight – allied with my contention that Donne's sermons of 1619 demonstrate at least irenic support for the *causa communis* of the Protestant Churches in Bohemia and Germany – provides the basis for the principal argument of the first chapter.[21] The main thrust of that

[20] Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art*, 2nd edn (Faber & Faber, 1990); Edwards, *John Donne: Man of Flesh and Spirit* (Continuum, 2001).

[21] 'Protestant Churches' is preferred here to 'Reformed', as by 1619 the latter term had come largely to refer to those Churches influenced by the theology of Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli, among others, as contrasted especially with the Lutherans. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by E. A. Livingstone, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 1375.

argument is that Donne's tactful style of topical application in his sermons reflects certain conventions of Elizabethan and Jacobean diplomatic speech, gleaned by Donne both from first-hand experience and also from manuals of such rhetoric that he kept in his library.[22]

The second chapter seeks to sharpen the focus on how Donne's knowledge of international affairs may have shaped the characteristic tact of his biblical exegesis. This is approached via a case study of Donne's chaplaincy to the 1619 Doncaster embassy to Germany. In particular, I aim to show how the reconstruction of the preaching occasions of Donne's sermons in Heidelberg and The Hague, before the Elector and Electress Palatine and the States General of the United Provinces respectively, may lead to a re-evaluation of the tenor of Donne's scriptural exposition. In particular, I aim to show how Donne's sermons demonstrate, to a greater extent than previously recognised, a close theological and political accommodation with a broad European Reformed irenic tradition, indebted to Palatinate theologians such as Zacharias Ursinus and David Pareus.

The third chapter focusses on Donne's sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn and at the Chapel Royal in the period leading up to the defeat of Protestant forces at White Mountain in Bohemia in November 1620. This section draws out the hitherto unremarked extent of Donne's use in his sermons of civil and common law terminology, procedure and principle to establish rapport with his auditory, make oblique allusions to current events, and establish a standard of authority independent of royal absolutism. Building on this initial evaluation of Donne's lawyerly exegesis, the fourth chapter turns to Donne's sermons preached as Dean of St Paul's, from 1621 to the fall of Heidelberg in September 1622. When these addresses are read more

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[22] For example, Carlo Pasquale's *Legatus Opus* (Rouen, 1598). (Keynes, p. 273.)

closely within the grain of the times, I suggest, Donne's subtle engagement with topical events emerges more clearly than has been acknowledged. For Donne's frequent use of legal terms and analogy in these sermons permits him to address pressing conflicts of conscience whilst still retaining rhetorical discretion and compliance with doctrinal orthodoxy.

The theme of the fifth chapter is the nature of Donne's adoption of the precepts and practices of both Protestant and Roman Catholic casuistry in his sermons of 1623. Building on the work of A. E. Malloch, Meg Lota Brown and others, this chapter seeks to extend previous considerations of the role of casuistry in Donne's work. This is achieved by examining how Donne applies general ethical principles to the particular circumstances faced by each of his different auditories in 1623. Furthermore, this chapter seeks to break new ground in demonstrating the extent of the influence of Spanish Catholic casuistry on Donne's adjudicatory exegesis. Such influence was given topical urgency by the brief outbreak of Hispanophilia in the Jacobean court in the summer of 1623, which was the product of the sojourn of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham in the court of Philip IV in Madrid.

The final chapter – focussing on Donne's continuing engagement with the fate of western European Protestantism in his sermons of 1624-1631 – also concerns a fresh area of study. That is the connexion between Donne's discreet commentary on foreign and domestic affairs, and his practical experience of acting as a judge-delegate in the higher ecclesiastical courts (especially in the Court of Delegates and Court of High Commission). Once again, I suggest that this largely overlooked aspect of Donne's professional life contributes in manifold ways to Donne's distinctively practical divinity. I also propose that the precise nature of the relation between Donne's professional knowledge and the finely graduated rhetoric of his moral reason may best

be understood in the context of wider political events – in particular, how the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in mainland Europe, by raising the spectre of the Counter-Reformation in Protestant England, exacerbated domestic political and ecclesiastical instabilities, contributing to the casuistical development of the Anglican concept of conscience in John Donne's sermons.

In terms of critical methodology, this thesis builds on the increasingly orthodox notion that sermons are fundamentally, though never simplistically, occasional pieces of writing. In recent years, Jeanne Shami, Peter McCullough and Lori Anne Ferrell have all sought to emphasise the responsiveness of Donne's pulpit oratory (and early modern sermons in general) to exigencies of time, place and auditory. Donne's sermon texts can clearly benefit from a more detailed reconstruction of historical context: 'And this can be achieved without a wholesale rejection of formal analysis, but rather by studying sermons' forms in the context and evaluative terms of the culture that produced them.'[23] Furthermore, as Lori Ferrell has suggested, 'Contextualisation is the opening up of texts to their historical meaning, not the crude locating of texts in the past.'[24] Given Donne's habit of engaging deliberately with the resonances of his biblical and patristic sources and homiletic form, and with the prevailing expectations of his auditories, Donne's sermons present a challenging task for historical contextualisation. Since so many of his subtlest effects depend on precise twists and recoils, context cannot simply be mustered around the works themselves as a nebulous cladding of fact. Thus, readers, whether specialists or not,

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[23] L. A. Ferrell and P. McCullough, eds, *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 9.

[24] *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetoric of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 18.

require more specific detail, which is difficult to muster without the expositor crossing over into interpretative coercion. Such caveats apply in particular to the interpretation of the 'sensitive, controversial vocabulary' of seventeenth-century religious polemic, and are echoed in the admonitions of such different scholars as Peter Lake and Jeanne Shami against the attendant risks of taking such vocabulary at face value.[25] Indeed, in methodological terms, a focus on the flexible, adaptive eloquence of preachers responsive to occasion and auditory may be one of the key contributions literary scholars can make to revisionist Reformation historiography. I hope, therefore, that by attending to Donne's casuistic use of conventions of both diplomatic and legal rhetoric, it may be possible to view his interpretation of the concept of conscience in a fresh light: that is, to see Donne's biblical exegesis in a more sophisticated way than by saying merely that a certain sermon or text is preached according to a priori factors of theological doctrine or political interest.

A brief comparative example may serve to demonstrate how close study of historical context can change the way a sermon is viewed. The critical approach of George Potter and Evelyn Simpson, for example, may be characterised by its predominant (though not exclusive) focus on the literary merits of Donne's sermons. Accordingly, Potter and Simpson give only a five-line paragraph of description to Donne's 8 April 1621 Whitehall oration, concluding simply that, 'the sermon is not

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[25] Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), 32-76 (p. 32); Shami, 'Labels, Controversy, and the Language of Inclusion in Donne's Sermons', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, pp. 135-58 (p. 136). Recent studies that emphasise the occasional nature of sermons include L. A. Ferrell, 'Donne and His Master's Voice, 1615-1625', *JDJ*, 11 (1992), 59-70; and Mary Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *The Historical Journal*, 42.4 (1999), 11-24.

particularly interesting'.[26] However, when the same address is seen in the light of immediately preceding historical events, Donne's exposition takes on a contemporary urgency that Potter and Simpson simply missed. For Donne's sermon was delivered not only in the midst of the fierce debate over the course of foreign policy towards the Palatinate, but also at the time of the public trials of Sir Giles Mompesson, Sir Francis Mitchell and Sir Francis Bacon for abuse of public office. In this climate, Donne's choice of text – Proverbs 25.16: 'Hast thou found honey? Eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it' – appears far from arbitrary; and his sermon's theme of the sins of avarice and theft clearly suggests a greater engagement with the pressing moral questions raised by contemporary affairs than has been previously recognised.

It is on the basis of such examples, therefore, that this thesis draws attention to the inherent topicality in this period of even the most apparently innocuous homily preached in prominent London pulpits. This is not to contradict Ian Green's valuable reminder that the vast majority of Jacobean sermons were not overtly controversial.[27] Rather, it is merely to draw attention to the intense official scrutiny paid to religious discourse in the 1620s, and to the consequent heightening of public sensitivity to the political import of religious language in these years. It is also to reiterate the central role played by sermons in the formation of the public sphere in the period, as even a random sampling of pages from the *STC* shows. Godfrey Davies has gone as far as to call the early seventeenth-century pulpit, 'the most influential of all organs of public opinion.'[28] This thesis argues, therefore, that the technical vocabularies and oratorical

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[26] *Sermons*, III, 19.

[27] *Print & Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 216.

[28] 'English Political Sermons, 1603-1640', *HLQ*, 3.1 (1939), 1-22 (p. 7).

methods of law and diplomacy were employed by Donne (and other preachers) to make veiled allusion to current events whilst still remaining within a framework of the pastoral ethos of salvation and conversion. Between 1619 and 1623 such events of intense contemporary interest included the Protestant rebellion in Bohemia, the trial of the Remonstrant leader Jan van Olden Barneveldt in The Hague, the deliberations of the Synod of Dort, and the journey of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid.[29]

Primary sources considered in this thesis include Donne's sermons, in manuscript (where available) and the early printed folios; Donne's letters, his prose works of religious controversy, and poems; and his characteristic pencil marks in books that bear signs of his ownership, from which inferences about Donne's reading may be drawn. The wider range of primary historical sources includes ecclesiastical appellate court records, diplomatic correspondence, royal proclamations, Privy Council records, and parliamentary and private diaries. In addition, I have also sought to place Donne's pulpit oratory wherever relevant in the immediate context of the sermons of contemporaries such as Lancelot Andrewes, George Abbot, Joseph Hall, William Laud, Thomas Gataker, Richard Crakanthorpe, and John Rawlinson, many of whom delivered their sermons at court or at Paul's Cross, the most prominent public pulpit of the day.

Using sermons as documents of historical evidence, however, raises a number of procedural questions. For what has come down to us in manuscript and print may be far from what was actually preached. Delivered from notes, the only sermons

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[29] See T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Buc and the Censorship of "Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt" in 1619', *RES*, n.s. 39.153 (1988), 39-63 (pp. 54-55); John Platt, 'Eirenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, c. 1500 - c. 1750*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 221-43; Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, pp. 16-18.

immediately 'exscribed' by Donne were those ordered to be published by the King, or requested by friends.[30] The majority were later copied out by Donne during two occasions of enforced idleness: the first due to the plague outbreak of 1625, and the second due to personal illness in 1630. In 1625 Donne wrote from his temporary exile in Chelsea to Sir Thomas Roe that he was revising 'as many of my sermons as I had kept any note of, and I have written out a great many, and hope to do more.'[31] Evidence of Donne's revision of his sermons during his last illness can be found in the heading of Sermon 71 of the *LXXX Sermons*: 'At the Haghe Decemb. 19. 1619. I Preached upon this Text. Since in my sicknesse at Abrey-hatche in Essex, 1630, revising my short notes of that Sermon, I digested them into these two.' (p. 717.)

In a number of his sermons, Donne urged preachers to deliver their homilies 'with consideration, with meditation, with preparation; and not barbarously, not suddenly, not occasionally, not extemporarily'. [II, 171.] Given Donne's dislike of *ex tempore* preaching, Herbert Umbach suggests that he is likely to have prepared his sermons in great detail. Thus, although in the printed copy we may not have an exact transcript of the original sermon, we may still have a 'faithful record of what was said in the pulpit.'[32] And at the least, evidence from the *variæ lectiones* of the manuscripts and folios of Donne's sermons suggests his recurring habits of textual emendation in

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[30] For Izaak Walton's account of Donne's method of sermon preparation, see Walton, *Lives*, p. 59. For a fuller discussion of this topic, see John Sparrow, 'John Donne and Contemporary Preachers', in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 56-68; and John Hayward, 'A Note on Donne the Preacher', in *A Garland for John Donne 1631-1931*, ed. by Theodore Spencer (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 73-98. See also Donne's letter to Robert Ker (Gosse, II, 245).

[31] Gosse, II, 225.

[32] Umbach, 'The Rhetoric of Donne's Sermons', *PMLA*, 52.2 (1937), 354-58 (pp. 355-56).

preparation for publication.[33] That Donne's methods of sermon preparation and revision appear to be consistent with those of his contemporaries is suggested by James Ussher's epistle dedicatory to one of his own printed sermons: 'The very words which then I uttered, I am not able to present unto you: the substance of the matter I have truly laid downe, though in some places (as it fell out) somewhat contracted, in others a little more inlarged.'[34] In summary, therefore, while it is imperative that the revised nature of Donne's sermon texts be kept uppermost in mind when studying those texts in the context of their earlier delivery, it is likely that longer recurrent patterns of reference within his sermons, as well as the selection of texts, relate to their original preaching occasions.

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[33] For discussion of revisions to Donne's *A Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany*, preached in 1619 and probably revised in 1625, see *Sermons*, II, 33. For revisions to Donne's sermon of 5 November 1622, see Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 1-35.

[34] *The Substance of that which was Delivered in a Sermon before the Commons House of Parliament, in St Margarets Church at Westminster, 18. February 1620* (1621), sigs $A3^{r-v}$.

1. Donne, Dort, and Diplomacy

'PREPARING TO LEAVE THE KINGDOM': COSMOPOLITAN DONNE

Despite recent biographical work on Donne's diverse experiences of professional and public life, his involvement in foreign affairs remains largely overlooked.[1] I would argue, however, that clearer recognition of the extent of Donne's personal and public engagement with matters related to British foreign policy can shed fresh light on the contemporary resonance of his writings, particularly in the early 1620s, the opening years of the Thirty Years' War. The three parts of this chapter, therefore, focus on literary evidence for Donne's involvement in international affairs, found in his sermons, poems, and letters written in the months prior to his departure for Germany with the Doncaster embassy in May 1619.

On 19 February 1619 it was announced in London that, 'My Lord of Doncaster is to goe Embassador to the princes of Germany, and soe to Bohemia'.[2] The broad aims of the embassy were twofold: officially, to mediate between the Catholic and Protestant claimants to the Bohemian crown (respectively, James VI & I's Calvinist son-in-law, Frederick, Count Palatine, and the Catholic Ferdinand of Styria); and unofficially, to build bridges between competing states and factions *within* international Protestantism, especially in Germany and the Low Countries. As well as appointing the ambassador, King James also selected Doncaster's chaplain. For on 9 March Donne wrote to Sir Henry Goodere, 'It is true [...] I had that commandment

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[1] Recent articles on Donne's engagement with domestic public affairs include: Louis Knafla, 'Mr Secretary Donne: The Years with Sir Thomas Egerton'; and Johann Sommerville, 'John Donne the Controversialist: The Poet as Political Thinker'. (Both in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 37-72; 73-95.)

[2] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 45; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 216.

from the King [...] and we are within fourteen days of our time for going.'[3] In fact it would be more than two months before the Doncaster embassy finally left for the continent. During these weeks Donne's valedictory frame of mind found expression in a variety of literary forms: letters familiar and dedicatory, and sermons preached privately or at court, or to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn. On 21 February 1619, for example, Donne preached to the Countess of Montgomery at the Cockpit in Whitehall.[4] In his letter of dedication Donne states that, 'I am going out of the Kingdom, and perchance out of the world'. [II, 179.] Donne's apprehension also colours the tone of his Lincoln's Inn sermon of 18 April 1619: 'In my long absence, and far distance from hence, remember me'. [II, 248.][5]

In a letter of April 1619 addressed to 'S^{r} Robert Carre [...], *with my Book* Biathanatos *at my going into* Germany', Donne states flatly, 'Reserve it for me, if I live, and if I die, I only forbid it the Presse, and the Fire'.[6] Writing to Sir Henry Goodere on 9 March Donne gives a more specific cast to his foreboding: 'I leave a scattered flock of wretched children, and I carry an infirme and valetudinary body, and I goe into the mouth of such adversaries, as I cannot blame for hating me, the Jesuits, and yet I go.'[7] Evidence of Donne's 'infirme body' comes from his earliest biographer, Izaak Walton, who reports that at the time of his departure for Germany,

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[3] *Letters*, p. 174; Gosse, II, 121-22.

[4] For the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, II, 23-25; and G. R. Potter, 'Hitherto Undescribed Manuscript Versions of Three Sermons by Donne', *JEGP*, 44 (1945), 31-32.

[5] Cf. Luke 23.42, 'And he said unto Jesus, Lord remember me when thou comest unto thy kingdom.'

[6] *Letters*, pp. 21-22. Gosse, II, 124-25. Written to Sir Robert Ker, first Earl of Ancram. Donne also sent a valedictory letter to Sir Edward Herbert, dated 4 April 1619, accompanied by a copy of *Biathanatos*. (*Letters*, p. 20.)

[7] *Letters*, pp. 174-75; Gosse, II, 121. On Donne's seven surviving children, see Bald, pp. 537-40.

Donne, then forty-seven, believed 'himself to be in a Consumption'. Donne's friends at Lincoln's Inn, at this time, according to Walton, also feared for his poor health, of which 'there were many visible signs'.[8]

No less evident were the grounds for Jesuit 'hatred' of Donne since his public status as an anti-Jesuit controversialist had been confirmed with the publication in 1610 of *Pseudo-Martyr*, and *Ignatius His Conclave* in 1611.[9] His Catholic apostasy and 1615 ordination in the English Church would also have comprised a *prima facie* case for Donne's fear.[10] Furthermore, in the early years of the Oath of Allegiance controversy (1605) Donne had assisted the Dean of Gloucester, Thomas Morton, in producing anti-papist pamphlets.[11] Given his anxious cast of mind in 1619, however, Donne's estimation of the Jesuit threat may well have been more imagined than real. For as Donne put it in an earlier verse letter to Sir Edward Herbert, 'to the punishments which God doth fling, / Our apprehension contributes the sting.'[12]

Nevertheless, whilst bearing possible distortions of 'apprehension' in mind, half-buried clues in Donne's valedictory letters of 1619 seem to hint at other less well-

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[8] Walton, *Lives*, p. 45.

[9] For discussion of Donne's continental reputation as a polemicist, see Paul Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), pp. 22-23.

[10] Daniel W. Doerksen, *pace* John Carey, refers to Donne's conversion to the Church of England as 'a responsible choice'. ('Polemist or Pastor? Donne and Moderate Calvinist Conformity', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation: New Perspectives*, ed. by M. A. Papazian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), pp. 12-34 (p. 24).)

[11] For Donne's relations with Thomas Morton, see Bald, pp. 210-12.

[12] *Poems*, p. 200. For Donne's friendship with, Edward Herbert, eldest son of Mrs Magdalen Herbert and brother of the poet, see Don A. Kester, 'Donne and Herbert of Cherbury: An Exchange of Verses', *Modern Languages Quarterly*, 8 (1947), 137-63.

advertised motives for Jesuit ill will. One such hint may be found in Donne's remarks concerning his appointment as Doncaster's chaplain: 'Though this be no service to my Lord: yet I shall never come nearer doing him a service, nor do anything liker a service then [*sic*] this.'[13] One the one hand, Donne's reference to his 'service' as chaplain to the Doncaster embassy may be taken to apply to what was a routine aspect of clerical preferment in the period. Between 1610 and 1612 Daniel Featley served as chaplain to Sir Thomas Edmondes, English Ambassador at Paris; Joseph Hall accompanied Doncaster in his embassy to France in 1616; and Barten Holyday, in 1618, attended Sir Francis Stewart, Ambassador at Madrid.[14] On the other hand, however, a curious ambiguity lies in Donne's unfolding play on both the political and religious connotations of the words 'service' and 'my Lord'. Donne's implication, obliquely expressed, seems to be that his role in the embassy will be no mere 'sinecure' or 'vacation', as Edmund Gosse once supposed. Instead, Donne's apparent conflation of diplomacy and religion in referring to his 'service' hints at R. C. Bald's intriguing suggestion that Donne may have been 'employed to correspond with agents abroad on affairs affecting the welfare of the Church.'[15]

Not surprisingly, direct evidence of such correspondence is scant. One surviving clue, however, seems to indicate Donne's part in international Church affairs. For in 1615 or 1616 Donne was one of eleven men to whom a diplomatic cipher was entrusted.[16] Moreover, a number for the King of Bohemia (Frederick V, crowned in

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[13] Donne to Goodere, 9 March 1619. (*Letters*, p. 175; Gosse, II, 121.)

[14] *ODNB*, 19, 220-25; 24, 633-38; 27, 847-48.

[15] Gosse, II, 120; Bald, pp. 315, 569-70. See also Jeanne Shami, '"The Stars in their Order Fought Against Sisera": John Donne and the Pulpit Crisis of 1622', *JDJ*, 14 (1995), 1-58 (p. 9).

[16] NA SP 106/4, no. 44; cipher assigned in index to 'Italy'. Other significant names within the cipher key include the Archbishop of Canterbury, Secretary Winwood, and Sir Isaac Wake.

November 1619) was later added to the cipher, supporting Bald's view that, 'Ever since his ordination he [Donne] may have been engaged in secret correspondence with agents in Europe.' Indeed, Donne's activities on behalf of the Church may have continued throughout his clerical career, for in January 1623 Sir Henry Wotton sent 'a large cipher' from Venice to Sir Albertus Morton in London, 'whereof I must entreat you to consign a fair copy to the Dean of Paules.'[17]

One other hint at Donne's secret dealings in politics lies in a second letter from Donne to Goodere, dated 4 April 1619. Following the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Matthias on the 20th of March, the Doncaster embassy was at last making final preparations for departure from London. Donne remarks that, 'If I write no letters into *England* out of these parts, I cannot be without your pardon [...] I foresee some reasons, which may make me forbeare; but no slacknesse of mine own, shall.'[18] Given the risk of interception, personal correspondence by embassy staff in this period was generally kept to a minimum.[19] Yet in the spring of 1619 Donne may also have anticipated that his duties as Doncaster's chaplain and *de facto* secretary would leave little time for familiar letters. For by early April the succession to the imperial throne of Ferdinand of Styria, the deposed King of Bohemia, was widely regarded as a *fait accompli*.[20] At the same time, the reassertion of Ferdinand's claim to the

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[17] Bald, p. 340; Logan Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), II, 265.

[18] *Letters*, p. 223; Gosse, II, 126. The addressee is given as Sir Thomas Lucy, but is almost certainly Goodere. On the editorial interventions of John Donne Jr, see I. A. Shapiro, 'The Text of Donne's Letters to Severall Persons', *RES*, 7.27 (1931), 291-301.

[19] For discussion of embassy postal methods, see Maurice Lee Jr, 'The Jacobean Diplomatic Service', *American Historical Review*, 72 (1967), 1264-82 (pp. 1275-76).

[20] Parker, p. 47.

Bohemian crown, it was thought, would be 'like to put all Christendome in combustion'.[21] It was thus imperative that English mediation in the Bohemian dispute should take place *before* the imperial election in Frankfurt in August 1619.

If Donne was indeed more involved in international Church affairs than has been previously recognised, how qualified was he to undertake such service? Certainly, Donne was noted by his contemporaries for his cosmopolitan nature. In his lines 'On Doctor Donne', for example, Richard Corbet maintained that anyone who would write a fit epitaph for Donne, 'must have language, travaile, all the Arts; / Judgement to use; or else he wants thy parts.'[22] But how much experience of language and travel did Donne actually possess prior to 1619?

Donne's first significant international experience came in 1596-97, serving as a gentleman soldier in the Anglo-Dutch expeditions against Cadiz, Faro, and the Azores.[23] A continuing interest in international affairs is also evident in Donne's letters referring to the siege of Ostend in 1600-1601; and in 1605 Donne may have travelled to France and Italy with Sir Walter Chute.[24] In 1612 Donne journeyed to Amiens and Paris as a member of Sir Robert Drury's embassy to the Reformed court

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[21] Dudley Carleton letter to John Chamberlain, 18 September 1619. See *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624, Jacobean Letters,* ed. by Maurice Lee (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), pp. 270-71.

[22] *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), I, 374, lines 11-12.

[23] Bald, pp. 80-92. For the suggestion that Donne first visited the continent in 1585 to escape the risk of the persecution of Catholics in England, see Dennis Flynn, *John Donne & the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 133-72.

[24] Gosse, I, 109; I. A. Shapiro, 'Donne, the Parvishes, and Munster's "Cosmography"', *N&Q* (July 1966), 243-48.

of the Duc de Bouillon.[25] The purpose of the embassy was to arrange the prospective marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. Subsequently, the embassy passed through the Low Countries and on to Germany, to Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate, in order to 'visit the land that was to be [Princess Elizabeth's] home.'[26]

As well as foreign travel, Izaak Walton notes Donne's habit of making records of 'all business that past of any publick consequence, either in this, or any of our neighbour-nations'. According to Walton, Donne 'abbreviated' such matters 'either in Latine, or in the Language of that Nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials.'[27] Donne's linguistic ability is also implied in his efforts to secure a diplomatic post abroad, such as the ambassadorship to Venice in 1614, or in his attempt to obtain an appointment as secretary to the Queen, Anne of Denmark. In addition to his experience of embassies abroad, therefore, Donne's skill in foreign languages further suggests his fitness for assisting Doncaster and Secretary Sir Francis Nethersole in preparing speeches in Latin or French.[28]

Donne's personal ties to English diplomats such as Sir Henry Wotton and Sir

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[25] R. E. Bennett, 'Donne's Letters from The Continent in 1611-12', *Philological Quarterly*, 19 (1 January 1940), 66-78.

[26] Bald, p. 257.

[27] Walton, *Lives*, p. 60. In 'An Elegy on Doctor Donne' (7 April 1631), Walton asks, 'Spake he all languages? Knew he all laws?' (Walton, *Lives*, p. 83.)

[28] Sir Francis Nethersole (1587-1659), public orator at Cambridge, 1611-1619; appointed secretary to the Electress Palatine in September 1619. Donne preached at Nethersole's wedding to Lucy Goodere in February 1620. (*ODNB*, 40, 442-44.)

Thomas Roe also indicates a close knowledge of international matters.[29] A verse letter from Donne in the late 1590s compliments Wotton as one:

> Whom, free from German schismes, and lightnesse
> Of France, and faire Italies faithlesnesse,
> Having from these suck'd all they had of worth,
> And brought home that faith, which you carried forth,
> I throughly love.[30]

As well as absorbing 'all [these countries] had of worth' on his travels, Donne also participated in what might be called a European *respublica literaria*.[31] Numerous links exist, for example, between Donne and continental divines such as the Dutch Calvinists Ubbo Emmius and Sibrandus Lubbertus.[32] Other continental scholars and churchmen with whom Donne may have been acquainted prior to 1619, chiefly through Thomas Morton, include Pierre du Moulin and Isaac Casaubon. In 1610, Sir John Harrington sent Casaubon a copy of *Pseudo-Martyr* in which Donne twice cited Casaubon's still unpublished *De Libertate Ecclesiastica*, suggesting at least some form of correspondence between the two men.[33] A possible connexion between

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[29] Wotton's diplomatic service included ambassadorial duty in Venice and The Hague. Roe was Ambassador first to India, and then to Constantinople. Both men were admirers of Princess Elizabeth; Roe, in particular, was her lifelong friend and confidant. (*ODNB*, 47, 512-18; 60, 377-82.)

[30] *Poems*, pp. 189-90. See also T-L. Pebworth and C. J. Summers, '...The Exchange of Verse Letters between Donne and Henry Wotton', *Modern Philology*, 81 (1984), 361-77.

[31] Key figures in the early seventeenth-century European republic of letters included Hugo Grotius, Samuel Hartlib, Michael Lingelsheim, and Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.

[32] Emmius, with Lubbertus and Thomas Morton, made common cause against the Roman controversialists Bellarmine and Gretzer. Emmius owned a copy of Donne's *Ignatius His Conclave*. (Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, p. 17.)

[33] See John Barwick, *The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of S. Paul, sermon preached at the funeral of Thomas, late Bishop of Duresme* (1659). *Together with the Life of the Said Bishop*, (1660), p. 73. Also,

Donne and Abraham Scultetus, professor of divinity in the University of Heidelberg and *Aulicus Concionator* to the Elector, is also significant given Donne's visits to the Palatinate in 1612 and 1619.[34] Donne's friendship with Constantijn Huygens has been well documented, and it is also possible that Donne was acquainted with Paolo Sarpi, the Venetian republican, and with John Diodati, Geneva's representative at the Synod of Dort.[35] Furthermore, Donne's library and his controversial prose works also contain evidence of his familiarity with international current affairs: he owned and marked a copy of *Articles of Peace, Entercourse, and Commerce, concluded by James I with Philip III of Spaine* (1605); and in the Preface to *Pseudo-Martyr* Donne reflects at length on the fresh outbreak in 1605 of controversies between the papacy and the Catholic rulers of Venice, and of Sicily.[36]

Poems written by Donne to commemorate royal marriages and deaths also offer clues to his attitude to the international Protestant cause ('the central problem [for] English foreign policy in the period from the Henrician Reformation to the Civil

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Bald, pp. 283-84; A. L. Soens, 'Casaubon & Donne', *TLS* (2 May 1958), 241. For Donne's connexion to du Moulin, see *Letters*, p. 296.

[34] Donne cites Scultetus's *Medulla Theologiæ Patrum* (Ambergæ, 1605) in *Biathanatos*. (Ernest W. Sullivan, II, ed., *Biathanatos, by John Donne* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), Pt 3, Dist. 5, Sect. 1 (p. 133).)

[35] For Donne's link to Huygens, see Bald, pp. 441-42; and P. Sellin, 'John Donne and the Huygens Family, 1619-21: Some Implications for Dutch Literature', *Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters*, 12 (1982-83), 193-204. For his link to Sarpi, see Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's Politics, "Desperate Ambition," and Meeting Paolo Sarpi in Venice', *JEGP*, 99 (2000), 334-55; also Jeffrey Johnson, 'John Donne and Paolo Sarpi: Rendering the Council of Trent', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, pp. 90-112. For the connexion with Diodati, see Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, p. 113.

[36] *Articles of Peace* now in the Harvard College Library (Keynes, p. 264); *Pseudo-Martyr, by John Donne*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 15, 17.

War.')[37] Following his visit to Heidelberg with Drury in 1612, Donne composed an epithalamium for the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick on Valentine's Day 1613. Whilst eschewing the apocalyptic fervour of polemicists such as George Wither, Donne's marriage poem still hints at the hopes inspired by the union for European Protestant solidarity:

> Since separation
> Falls not on such things as are infinite,
> Nor things which are but one, can disunite,
> You'are twice inseparable, great, and one.[38]

Similar hopes for the Protestant *causa communis* are also expressed in Donne's funeral elegy written for Prince Henry, who had died of typhoid fever in November 1612. Donne's poem is notable for positioning Prince Henry (and, by extension, England) at the very fulcrum of the future peace of Europe:

> Was it not well believ'd, till now; that *Hee*,
> Whose *Reputation* was an *Extasie*
> On Neighbour States; which knew not Why to wake
> Till *Hee* discouered what wayes *Hee* would take [...]
> Was His great *Father's* greatest Instrument,
> And activ'st spirit to convey and tye
> This soule of *Peace* through CHRISTIANITIE?
> Was it not well believ'd, that *Hee* would make
> This *general Peace* th'eternall ouertake?[39]

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[37] Simon Adams, 'The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance with the West European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630' (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1973), p. 1.

[38] 'Epithalamion, Or mariage Song on the Lady *Elizabeth*, and *Count Palatine* being married on St *Valentines* day', in *Poems*, p. 131. Donne's celebratory poem was one among many. J. Nichols, *Progresses of James I* (1828), II, 624-26, lists eleven volumes of tracts and odes on the royal marriage.

[39] *Variorum*, VI, 160-61. Other funeral elegies for Prince Henry included Richard Nicolls, *The Three Sisters' Teares, shed at the late solemne Funerals* (1613); and John Taylor, *Great Britaine all in Blacke* (1612).

On the basis of this elegy, Paul Sellin concludes that in 1613 Donne backed 'an aggressive foreign policy supporting the Continental Reformed.'[40] Certainly, Donne's social and professional circles encompassed those such as the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, Sir Robert Phelips and Archbishop Abbot who advocated military support of Protestant interests abroad. (Pembroke's postscript to a May 1619 letter to Doncaster demonstrates such a tie: 'I beseech your Lordship commend my best loue to Mr Doctor Dunn.'[41]) However, despite Donne's pro-Bohemian links, the manner of his 1613 elegy for Prince Henry is, I suggest, more irenic than 'aggressive'. James I, '*Rex Pacificus*', is described as 'This soule of *Peace*'. His late heir, Prince Henry, was expected to 'make / This *general Peace* th'eternall overtake'.[42] Hence, whilst Donne's letters and poems prior to May 1619 certainly seem to endorse support for 'the Continental Reformed', they also imply that such support should be primarily peaceful and religious, 'through CHRISTIANITIE'.[43]

Three initial points, then, arise from Donne's appointment to the 1619 Doncaster embassy. First, that Donne's letters of early 1619, in their valedictory tenor, hint at a previously unacknowledged involvement in international Church affairs. Second, that prior international experience and continuing participation in a European republic of

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[40] Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, p. 143. See also Leonard D. Tourney, 'Convention and Wit in Donne's "Elegy" on Prince Henry', *Studies in Philology*, 71 (1974), 473-83.

[41] BL MS Egerton 2592, fol. 81.

[42] 'This *general Peace*' refers to the cessation of war in Europe resulting from the Treaty of London with Spain (1604) and the Dutch-Spanish Twelve Years' Truce (1609).

[43] On Donne's 'irenical' desire to 'mitigate the consequences of destructive religious warfare', see Jeanne Shami, 'Anti-Catholicism in the Sermons of John Donne', in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750*, ed. by L. A. Ferrell and P. McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 136-66 (p. 141).

letters amply qualified Donne for such service. Third, that Donne's literary and international engagement on behalf of James I's children also inclined him towards at least irenic support for the *causa communis* of the Protestant Churches in Bohemia and Germany.[44]

'*MUSICUM CARMEN*': PREACHING AND DIPLOMACY

Donne's sermons of early 1619 amplify the theme of leave-taking present in his letters and occasional poems of the period. In place of epistolary valediction, however, Donne's sermons called for repentance – a call made more urgent by the increasing scale of the conflict in mainland Europe. In May 1618, just eight months previously, the Protestant Bohemians had instigated confessional and constitutional rebellion in the 'Defenestration of Prague';[45] in The Hague, the trial for treason of Jan van Olden Barneveldt, Advocate of Holland, was about to begin.[46] In Britain, fierce scrutiny was given to all forms of public speech in the period, not least to sermons. To illustrate the sensitive political nature of the preacher's task, therefore, Donne characteristically turned to analogy: between preacher and ambassador, and between *artes prædicandi* and diplomatic speech. In his 1619 Lent sermon, delivered at

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[44] Cf. Peter Lake's placing of Joseph Hall's *via media* in the context of 'the reasonable courtly face of the war party and the Patriot coalition, or, if you prefer, the moderate and irenic case for religious war.' ('Joseph Hall, Robert Skinner, and the rhetoric of moderation at the early Stuart Court', in *The English Sermon Revised*, pp. 167-85 (p. 175).)

[45] For the general English reaction to the 'defenestration', see *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library*, ed. by O. Ogle and W. Bliss (1872), I, 19.

[46] On 19 February 1619. This was a matter of popular interest in England; Fletcher and Massinger's play, *Sir John Van Olden Barnevelt*, played on the London stage shortly after Olden Barneveldt's execution (13 May).

Whitehall shortly before his departure to Germany, Donne draws a pointed parallel between the planning required of the preacher in composing his sermon and that of the ambassador in preparing his address:

> That Ambassadour should open himself to a shrewd danger and surprisall, that should defer the thinking upon his Oration, till the Prince, to whom he was sent, were reading his letters of Credit: And it is a late time of meditation for a Sermon, when the Psalm is singing. [II, 171.]

The offices of the preacher and the ambassador are even more closely correlated in Donne's poem 'To *Mr* Tilman *after he had taken orders*', thought to have been written in 1619. In the poem the preacher is cast as intermediary, charged to 'convey' Christ from the pulpit, and bring 'man to heaven, and heaven againe to man'. 'What function is so noble,' Donne concludes of the calling of the priest, 'as to bee / Embassadour to God and destinie?'[47] In the context of his appointment to the Doncaster embassy Donne's analogy between the function of the preacher and that of the diplomat is richly suggestive of the close kinship between religious and political spheres in early seventeenth-century Europe. It also indicates, I would argue, that such kinship resonates more clearly in Donne's sermons of 1619 than has been previously recognised.

To support this latter assertion, it may be helpful to understand Donne's conception of the nature of the ambassador's equivocal role. For on the one hand, as in Wotton's infamous epigram, the ambassador was held to be an 'honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.'[48] Donne himself cites the scriptural example of the Gibeonites' deception of Joshua: 'in the likenesse of Ambassadors'. [VIII, 128.] On the other hand, however, the ambassador was held to be the noble envoy of his

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[47] *Poems*, p. 371. For the dating of the poem, see Gardner, ed., *Divine Poems*, Appendix D.

[48] Logan Pearsall Smith remarks that this definition was said to have cost Wotton his chance to succeed Lord Salisbury as Chief Secretary. (*Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, I, 126-27.)

nation's dignity and honour.[49] Furthermore, as Gale Carrithers and James Hardy observe, the trope of ambassadorship in Tudor-Stuart literary culture was frequently understood in its religious context, used to illustrate the notion of calling, of life as Pauline mediation and advocacy of divine truth.[50] The variegated nature of contemporary perceptions of the emissary's role is thus central to the tenor of Donne's analogy.

Also of significance to the contemporary relevance of Donne's analogy between the ambassador and the preacher is the fact that by the mid- to late-sixteenth century diplomatic service had become a recognised step in a courtier's career.[51] From about 1540 literature on the subject began to appear in Europe, derived initially from the Italian system of diplomacy.[52] Increasing enthusiasm for the topic saw the publication in the 1580s of titles such as Torquato Tasso's *Il Messagiero* (Venice, 1582), and Alberico Gentili's *De legationibus, libri tres* (1585).[53] Donne's familiarity with such

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[49] On the ambassador as upholder of his ruler's dignity and reputation, see M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919* (Longman, 1993), pp. 17-18.

[50] Gale H. Carrithers and James D. Hardy Jr, *Age of Iron: English Renaissance Tropologies of Love and Power* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), pp. xii, 3, 6.

[51] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Dover Press, 1988), pp. 181-91. For the changing sense of the word 'diplomatic' in the seventeenth century, see *OED*, IV, 696. The shift described is from the textual sense of, or pertaining to, official or original documents, charters or manuscripts, to the sense of, or pertaining to, the management of international relations.

[52] E.g. Étienne Dolet, *De officio legati* (Lyon, 1541), and Conrad Braun, *De legationibus libri quinque* (Mainz, 1548). These were followed by Ottaviano Maggi, *De legato libri duo* (Venice, 1566) and the works of two French jurists: Pierre Ayrault, *De origine et auctoritate rerum judicatarum* (Paris, 1573), and Felix de La Mothe Le Vayer, *Legatus seu de legatione legatorumque privilegiis officio ac munere libellus* (Paris, 1579).

[53] Mattingly, pp. 245-56.

material is suggested by the presence of two diplomatic manuals in his extant library: Carlo Pasquale's *Legatus Opus* (Rouen, 1598) and Herman Kirchner's *Legatus: Ejusque Jura Dignitas & Officium Duobus libris explicata* (Marburg, 1614).[54] Donne also had many links to Alberico Gentili, Italian Protestant civilian and regius professor of civil law at Oxford (1587-1591). Henry Wotton was a friend, both to Gentili and to Donne,[55] and references to Gentili's work appear in *Biathanatos* and *Pseudo-Martyr*. Donne's extant library also includes two of Gentili's civil law titles: *In Titulum Digestorum De Verborum Significatione Commentarius* (Hanover, 1614) and *Regales Disputiones tres* (1605), both of which contain numerous pencil markings in the margins.[56] Donne's affinity with Gentili and his works, therefore, makes it likely that he was familiar with *De Legationibus*, one of the most important books in the period on the role and qualities of the ambassador, published in London and reprinted three times in the 1590s.

Fresh insight into Donne's actual reading of diplomatic literature may also be gleaned from characteristic pencil marks found in his copy of the French diplomat Pasquale's *Legatus*, which have not been previously discussed.[57] Whilst an earlier critical view encouraged 'extreme caution' in the matter of such marginalia, this view presupposed that 'except for his signature and motto, most of the books which

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[54] Keynes, pp. 273, 271. Donne also owned a further work relating to international statecraft, Francesco Guiccardini's *Piu consigli et avvertimenti in materia di repbulica et di privata* (Paris, 1576). (Keynes, p. 270.)

[55] James McConica, 'Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), II, 696.

[56] Keynes, p. 269.

[57] Characteristic Donnean markings include 'vertical or slanting ticks, a wavy line or a bracket close to the edge of the type, or occasionally a vertical line labelled NB' (Keynes, p. 261.)

belonged to him [Donne] were left clean.'[58] In fact, ninety of Donne's two hundred and thirteen books listed by Keynes contain Donne's distinctive pencil markings. Whilst approaching such oblique evidence with caution, I would suggest, however, that such marks may offer at least some 'slender insight' into Donne's reading.[59]

In Pasquale's *Legatus* one of the first of Donne's pencil marks is drawn next to the words: '*Quod homini est loquela hoc sunt imperiis legationes*' ['What language is to man, so embassies are to those in power'].[60] Pasquale's analogy between '*loquela*' and '*legationes*' recalls Donne's own focus in his Lent 1619 sermon on the means of persuasion available to the preacher and the ambassador respectively. Just as the prince dictates foreign policy through his ambassador, so the preacher is the vessel for God's Word: '*Ecce paratus*, Behold I am prepared for thee to speak in me'. [II, 171.] A second marked passage in Pasquale's *Legatus* offers further insight into Donne's worldly conception of the conduct of international affairs:

> *Hinc liquet, rebus arduis, et Repub. ancipiti,*
> *utendum duplici spe, mittenda legatione, atque interim expediendis armis,*
> *ut cum prudentia virtus paria faciat.*[61]
>
> Hence it is clear, in times of trouble, and when the state is wavering,
> that a twofold strategy should be used, by sending an embassy, and also by
> preparing arms, so that strength is made equal with discretion. [My trans.]

However, Donne's apparent approval in his reading of Pasquale of a balance between '*armis*' and '*legatione*' should be treated with caution. For Pasquale's pragmatic approach does not necessarily equate with Henry Wotton's more forthright expression of *realpolitik*: '*per altri occasione di cambiar il suono delle parole in*

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[58] See R. E. Bennett, 'Tracts from John Donne's Library', *RES*, 13 (1937), 333-35 (p. 335).

[59] John Sparrow, 'A Book From Donne's Library', *The London Mercury*, 25 (Nov 1931-Apr 1932), 171-80 (p. 172).

[60] *Legatus Opus* (Rouen, 1598), p. 4.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

quello di cannonate', made after his failed embassy to the Emperor Ferdinand in 1621 to mediate in the Bohemia-Palatinate dispute.[62] Donne, in contrast to Wotton, is firm in his rejection of the argument that 'the way to *Peace* is *Warre*'. [VII, 73.][63] And in his 1619 Lent sermon, Donne echoes Pasquale's more temperate formulation of practical wisdom ('*prudentia*') backed by strength ('*virtus*'). God's minister, Donne declares:

> shall be *Tuba* [...] a Trumpet, to awaken with terror. But then, he shall become *Carmen musicum*, a musical and harmonious charmer, to settle and compose the soul again in a reposed confidence, and in a delight in God [II, 166-67].

Both '*Tuba*' and '*Carmen musicum*' are requisite for persuasion. Without one or the other, warns Donne's text, Ezekiel 33.32: the auditory will 'hear thy words, but they doe them not.' Jeremiah Dyke, in a May 1619 sermon also on Ezekiel, echoes Donne's warning: 'His auditors sate before him as the Lords people, they heard his words, they would not do them.'[64] To dispose an audience favourably to action, therefore, a preacher must be '*musicum carmen*, acceptable musick to them that hear them.' [II, 169.] In this regard, as Thomas Sloane has pointed out, Donne's pulpit oratory conforms to one of the chief aims of humanist rhetoric: 'to form an audience [...] one that will hear and judge – and, more, become the discourse.'[65]

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[62] 'On other occasions the noise of words should be exchanged for that of cannonades.' (*Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 382.)

[63] Concerning Donne's irenicism, his library included the tract written by David Pareus to urge the union of the Lutheran confession with the Reformed Churches. (*Irenicum: sive, De unione et synodo evangelicorum concilianda* (Heidelberg, 1614). (Keynes, p. 273.))

[64] *A Counterpoyson Against Covetousnesse, in a Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, May 23, 1619* (1620), sig. A3^{r}.

[65] *Donne, Milton and the End of Humanist Rhetoric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 203.

In his account of the preacher's art of persuasion, however, Donne is careful to distinguish between 'acceptable' eloquence and what John Chamberlain calls 'flattering the time too much'.[66] The preacher's first duty, Donne observes, is to preach 'sincerely (for a preaching to serve turns and humors, cannot, at least should not please any)'. And the most persuasive proof of such 'sincerity', Donne concludes, is the preacher's embodiment of his own words, for 'as S. *Basil* says, *Corpus hominis, Organum Dei*, when the person acts that which the song says; when the words become works, this is a song to an instrument'. [II, 167.][67]

For his court auditory in February 1619 Donne's remarks on the diplomatic nature of the preacher's craft are likely to have held a political as well as a spiritual resonance. In September 1618 Protestant forces had captured the Bohemian city of Pilsen; and in January 1619, the Catholic League had re-formed in response.[68] In light of Donne's own impending participation in such international affairs as chaplain to the Doncaster embassy, his extended metaphor of the preacher as trumpet, sounding over a battlefield of world and spirit, takes on a contemporary significance.

> The same trumpet that sounds the alarm (that is, that awakens us from our security) and that sounds the Battail (that is, that puts us into a colluctation with our selves, with this world, with powers and principalities, yea into a wrastling with God himself and his Justice) the same trumpet sounds the Parle too, calls us to hearken to God in his word, and to speak to God in our prayers, and so to come to treaties and capitulations for peace [II, 169-70].

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[66] Letter to Dudley Carleton, 29 March 1617. (Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 67.)

[67] Donne later quotes Romans 10.15 in a literal illustration of this 'embodiment': '*Quam speciosi pedes Evangelizantium!* Sayes S. Paul [...] How beautifull are the feet of them that preach the Gospel!' [II, 173.]

[68] Parker, p. 46. The Catholic League was a confederacy of the Catholic states of the empire in Germany.

Donne's allusion to foreign affairs in his 1619 Lent sermon also touches on a further event of contemporary importance. For in February 1619 the doctrinal dispute in the United Provinces between Remonstrant Arminians and Contra-Remonstrant Calvinists had still to reach conclusion at the Synod of Dort.[69] At the Synod, political and religious interests overlapped, with theological discussion focussing on the five disputed Arminian points: 'the Method of Predestination'; 'the Efficacie of Christ's Death'; 'the Operation of grace before man's conversion'; 'the Operation of grace after man's conversion'; and 'the Perseverance of grace'.[70] Characteristically, Donne's own approach to such sensitive matters in his 1619 Lent sermon is via an extended conceit. In his treatment of the 'Method of Predestination', Donne adapts his earlier metaphor of '*musicum carmen*' to make clear his own view: namely, his disregard for the Contra-Remonstrant doctrine of supralapsarian predestination, espoused by Dutch Calvinists such as Franciscus Gomarus, in which damnation is prior to both creation and sin:[71]

> If we shall say, that God's first string in this instrument, was Reprobation, that God's first intention, was, for his glory to damn man; and that then he put in another string, of creating Man, that so he might have some body to damn; and then another of enforcing him to sin, that so he might have a just cause to damne him; and then another, of disabling him to lay hold upon any means of recovery: there's no musick in all this, no harmony, no peace in such preaching. [II, 170.]

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[69] The synod would close in April 1619. (Platt, 'Eirenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort', pp. 221-43.)

[70] Peter Heylyn, *Cypriamus Anglicus* (1671), pp. 75-76.

[71] The supralapsarian view held that God decreed an individual's election to salvation (or reprobation) even *before* Original Sin; the sub- or infralapsarian view held that God's decree came *after* the Fall. Both Daniel Doerksen and Paul Sellin argue persuasively for Donne's 'moderate' or 'infralapsarian' Calvinism. (Doerksen, 'Preaching Pastor versus Custodian of Order: Donne, Andrewes, and the Jacobean Church', *Philological Quarterly*, 73.4 (Fall 1994), 417-29 (p. 418); Sellin, *John Donne and 'Calvinist' Views of Grace* (Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel, 1983), pp. 13-15.)

In contrast to the unyielding logic of extreme predestination, Donne's pastoral inclination towards a harmonious 'settling and composing [of] the soul' echoes Article 17 of English Church doctrine: 'the godly consideration of Predestination [...] is full of sweete, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons'.[72] Further evidence of Donne's doctrinal moderation, and of his affinity with international affairs, comes in a sermon that he is thought to have preached at Lincoln's Inn in April 1620. Donne praises the 'blessed sobriety' of the British delegates to Dort – George Carleton, Joseph Hall, John Davenant, Samuel Ward and Walter Balcanquall; and he applauds their espousal of the moderate doctrine of 'hypothetical universalism': 'That all men are truly, and in earnest called to eternall life'. [VII, 127.][73]

Donne's inclination towards both doctrinal and rhetorical accommodation is also suggested by bibliographic evidence from his *Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany*, preached at Lincoln's Inn on 18 April 1619, just days before his departure to Germany. In the manuscript version of the text, Donne's distaste for the dogma of extreme predestination is palpable: 'God did not make that fire for us, but much less

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[72] [Thomas Rogers], *The Faith, Doctrine, and religion professed & protected in the Realme of England: Expressed in 39 Articles* (Cambridge, 1607), p. 70. Donne owned a copy of this edition. (Keynes, p. 275.)

[73] For the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, VII, 6-7. For the Dort formulation of the doctrine of predestination, see the Canons of Dort, Ch. 2, Articles 5, 6, 8. For the congruence of Anglican and Dutch Reform doctrine, see P. G. Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), 53, 57.

did he make us for that fire; make us to damne us, God forbid.' [II, 379.][74] However, comprehensive revisions of this text – most likely by Donne and made during 1625 – appear in the printed folio *XXVI Sermons* of 1661, including the excision of 'God forbid'. Donne's earlier oratorical zeal is thus tempered, in the light of succeeding events, by the reviser's exegetical discretion. Such tactful adjustments of emphasis seem to be intrinsic to Donne's conception of the *artes prædicandi*. In his 1619 Lent sermon Donne observes that, 'Religious preaching is a grave exercise, but not a sordid, not a barbarous, not a negligent.' [II, 170.] Rather than speak 'rudely' or 'extemporally', the preacher must use, 'such meditation and preparation as appertains to so great an imployment, from such a King as God, to such a State as his Church'. [II, 167.]

Thus far I have considered the political and religious resonance of Donne's ambassadorial analogy in the context of sermon composition and delivery. However, Donne's analogy also touches on the question of sermon reception. For Donne reminds his auditory that different forms of public speech call for different kinds of response. In the case of the prince receiving an ambassador:

> before they give audience, they endevour, by some confident servant of theirs, to discern and understand the inclination of the Ambassadour, and the generall scope, and purpose of his negotiation, and of the behaviour that he purposeth to use in delivering his Message [X, 130].

In the case of the sermon, however, 'in these Ambassages from God to man':

> no man is made so equall to God, as that he may refuse to give *Audience*, except he know before hand that the message be agreeable to his minde. [X, 130.]

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[74] Based chiefly on the Merton transcript, Bodl. MS Eng.th.c.71. That the *Sermon of Valediction* made a strong impression on its auditors is suggested by its preservation in more manuscript copies than any other Donne sermon. (*Sermons*, II, 33.)

Donne's Augustinian emphasis here on man's subordination to God is characteristic; it is not, however, a bidding to blind obedience. For Donne construes a second aspect of his ambassadorial analogy, in which the proposals of both envoys and preachers are to be submitted to further reasoned debate:

> for the second thing that Princes practise in the Reception of Ambassadours, which is, to referre Ambassadours to their Councell, we are well content to admit from you. Whosoever is of your nearest Councell, and whose opinion you best trust in, we are content to submit it to. Let naturall reason, let affections, let the profits or the pleasures of the world be the *Councell Table* [X, 131].

The '*Councell Table*' of 'naturall reason' and practical wisdom is an apposite image for Donne's sceptical, conciliar form of exegesis.[75] Terry Sherwood observes that at the heart of Donne's balance of rationality and belief lies the concept of 'the *visio dei*, reason's unimpeded comprehension of God in heaven.'[76] Donne himself, in a 1607 verse letter to the Countess of Bedford, remarks that 'Reason is our Soules left hand, Faith her right'.[77] In making fine ethical and doctrinal discriminations, therefore, scrupulous attention to logic and to rhetoric – the stock-in-trade of both diplomat and preacher – is the required companion, in Donne's conception, to religious zeal. Yet this is not to say, as Donne remarked in his sermon to the Countess of Montgomery, that he would justify the 'witty' abuses of casuistry, or 'hide the will of God from our owne Consciences with excuses and extenuations'. [II, 191.]

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[75] 'Conciliar' - relating to the medieval doctrine that asserted the superiority, under certain circumstances, of Church general councils over the papacy. (Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: the Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, rev. edn (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 1-20.)

[76] *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 22.

[77] *Poems*, p. 195.

This section concludes with one further political context for discussion of the contemporary resonance of Donne's discriminating exegesis: James's pursuit of a dynastic match between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Spanish Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III.[78] A key Spanish condition to the proposed match was the relaxation of English recusancy laws. In his 1619 Lent sermon, Donne touches on this politically sensitive matter in his emphasis on the preacher's duty not to elide confessional distinctions:

> I know what I can do, as a Minister of the Gospel, and of Gods Word; out of his Word I can preach against Linsey-woolsey garments; out of his Word I can preach against plowing with an Oxe, and with an Asse, against mingling of Religions. [II, 177-78.]

The political significance of Donne's counsel 'against mingling of Religions', in such everyday practical contexts as these Old Testament prohibitions evoke, would have been clear to his court auditory of 1619. Predictably, the prospect of increased toleration for recusants met fierce public opposition in 1619, focussing most sharply on popular antipathy for the Jesuits, 'those seducers'. [II, 178.] Donne thus echoes popular sentiment in his stress on the continued need to prosecute Jesuit efforts at conversion:

> And how knows he, who lets a Jesuit scape, whether he let go but a Fox, that will deceive some simple soule in matter of Religion; or a Wolfe, who, but for the protection of the Almighty, would adventure upon the person of the highest of all? [II, 178.]

Donne's implied criticism of the King's domestic religious policy is, however, characteristically tactful. For in one sense, his exhortation to remain vigilant against

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[78] For the part played by the Spanish match in English foreign policy in the early 1620s, see Thomas Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 107-33; and Simon Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign Policy', in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. by Howard Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 79-101.

the forces of Counter-Reformation seems designed to encourage solidarity with the Protestant Churches abroad. At the same time, however, by vividly illustrating the threat to the sovereign from the Jesuit 'Wolfe', Donne also demonstrated his loyalty to James as head of the Church, and 'highest of all'.

Donne's evident awareness of the politically sensitive nature of scriptural exposition is thus exemplified, I would suggest, by his frequent recourse to the image of the chaplain-as-ambassador. First, the diplomat seeks to win the confidence of his interlocutor, and then to proceed to points of contention. In like manner, Donne first seeks to win the assent of his auditory's reason and affections, before urging repentance. By attending to Donne's parallel between the rhetorical tact required both of the preacher and of the ambassador, therefore, I aim to move discussion beyond the false yet persistent critical dichotomy between seeing Donne as *either* hypocritical apologist for absolutism, *or* zealous anti-Catholic convert to the Church of England. To that end, the next section considers one further aspect of Donne's analogy between preacher and ambassador, evident in his last two sermons delivered before his departure for Germany in May 1619: namely, the use of natural law for the purposes of arbitration.

'IN WHAT TORNE SHIP SOEVER I EMBARKE': DONNE'S DISCREET EXEGESIS

The tactful nature of Donne's ministry has been variously interpreted by scholars. In the nineteenth century, Augustus Jessopp characterised Donne's churchmanship as: 'definite, though gentle, sympathetic, and animated by a large-hearted tolerance.'[79] More recent studies, however, have drawn attention, on the one hand, to Donne's

[79] Jessopp, *John Donne: Sometime Dean of St Paul's*, rev. edn (Methuen, 1905), p. 143.

polemical and theological anti-Catholicism, discovering in his sermons a strain of absolutism far removed from a notion of religious or political tolerance.[80] On the other hand, critics such as Joshua Scodel and Jeffrey Johnson have refined yet broadly reiterated Jessopp's earlier view, placing emphasis on Donne's rejection of controversial preaching and his 'desire to rise above the divisive wrangling that characterized the Church in his day.'[81] Donne himself, in a 1609 letter to Henry Goodere, clearly states his aversion to confessional partisanship:

> You know I never fettered nor imprisoned the word Religion; not straightning it Frierly, *ad Religiones factitias*, (as the *Romans* call well their orders of Religion) nor immuring it in a *Rome*, or a *Wittemberg*, or a *Geneva*; they are all virtuall beams of one Sun, and wheresover they finde clay hearts, they harden them, and moulder them into dust; and they entender and mollifie waxen.[82]

Yet both earlier and more recent studies of Donne's 'tolerance' have neglected the responsiveness of his oratory to the shifting landscape of international affairs. In his Easter Day sermon of 1619, for example, preached to 'the Lords' at Whitehall, Donne encourages his auditory to distinguish doctrinally between what is essential in religion and what is not: 'to make a true difference between problematicall, and dogmaticall points [...] betweene collaterall doctrines, and Doctrines in the right line'. [II, 203-4.] Notable here is Donne's emphasis on hermeneutic decorum; that in controversial questions 'nothing becomes a Christian better then sobriety'. [II, 203.] King James

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[80] See Arthur Marotti, 'Donne's Conflicted Anti-Catholicism', *JEGP*, 101.3 (2002), 358-79; and Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 218-19.

[81] Johnson, *The Theology of John Donne* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), p. x; Scodel, 'John Donne and the Religious Politics of the Mean', in *John Donne's Religious Imagination: Essays in Honor of John T. Shawcross*, ed. by Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances Malpezzi (Conway: University of Central Arkansas Press, 1995), pp. 45-80.

[82] *Letters*, p. 29.

had recommended the same kind of interpretative discretion to the British college of delegates at the Synod of Dort in order that they might 'endeavour that positions be moderately laid down which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides'.[83] Further remarks in Donne's Easter Day sermon of 1619 also touch on 'problematicall' points of doctrine debated at Dort. In particular, Donne urges the quelling of over-zealous inquiry into the Calvinist doctrine of election.[84]

> *Quis homo?* Who liveth, and shall not die? so it is a problematicall matter; and in such things as are problematicall, if thou love the peace of Sion, be not too inquisitive to know, nor too vehement, when thou thinkest thou doest know it. [II, 207.]

Donne's warning against 'vehemence' in religious disputation recalls John Young's letter to the British delegates at Dort. Writing in reply to Samuel Ward on the pleasure of the King at reports of the delegates' '*media via*', Young encourages the British college to keep 'in their definitions [...] *formam sanorum verborum* and rather by some general words [...] give them occasion to think well of our doctrine than that by too particular and curious a restraint be still estranged from us.'[85] This allusion to interpretative sobriety, in the '*formam sanorum verborum*' of doctrinal definition, is thus the corollary in international affairs of Donne's scepticism regarding 'over-inquisitive' theological inquiry.[86]

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[83] *Golden remains, of the ever memorable, Mr. John Hales, of Eaton-Colledge* [containing] *letters and expresses concerning the Synod of Dort* (1673), p. 190.

[84] As variously defined in Article 16 of the Belgic Confession (originally in French, 1561), Question 2 of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), Article 17 of the Thirty-Nine Articles (1571), the Nine Lambeth Articles (1595), and Articles 6-18 of the 'First Head of Doctrine, Of Divine Predestination' of the Canons of Dort (1619).

[85] Bodl. MS Tanner 74, fol. 196.

[86] '*Sanorum*', from L. *samus*, sound, healthy, whole; sober, reasonable, discreet.

In his *Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany*, preached at Lincoln's Inn on 18 April 1619, Donne develops further this distinction between essential and 'problematicall matter'.[87] Donne's text (Ecclesiastes 12.1: 'Remember now thy creator in the dayes of thy youth') is notable for its temporal urgency.[88] Given such urgency, Donne's *dilatatio* presses his auditory to separate spiritual wheat from chaff.[89] A natural, vegetative analogy is used to illuminate a theological abstraction: trees and herbs are compared to 'all doctrines that were to be proseminated and propagated, and to be continued to the end'. [II, 242.] By contrast, the transient, 'interlineary' tenets arising from ecclesiastical politics:

> were not seminal doctrines, doctrines that bore seed, and were to last from the beginning to the end; for these interlineary doctrines, and marginal, which were no part of the first text, here's no testimony that God sees that they are good. [II, 242.][90]

Hence, on the eve of his departure to Germany with Doncaster's embassy, to mediate between warring factions, Donne emphasises as 'natural' the priority of fundamental theological doctrine over *adiaphora*, or matters 'indifferent' of

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[87] The initial scheme for Church union, presented in 1614 by Pierre du Moulin to the Huguenot synod of Tonneins, was based on just this principle of unity on essential articles of belief. See Geeraert Brandt, *The History of the Reformation and other ecclesiastical transactions in and about the Low Countries, from the beginning of the Eighth Century, down to the famous Synod of Dort* (1722), II, 153-57.

[88] Donne preached from Ecclesiastes on at least four occasions, three of which were April court sermons at Whitehall. See *Sermons*, I, 168-222 (21 April 1616); and III, 47-72 (two sermons in April 1620).

[89] A probable allusion to Matthew 13.30, a verse used by Augustine to back his view of heresy and persecution.

[90] Donne's reference to 'interlineary doctrines, and marginal' echoes his trenchant observation elsewhere on the perils of learned controversy: 'It is the Text that saves us; the interlineary glosses, and the marginal notes, and the *variæ lectiones*, controversies and perplexities, undo us'. [III, 208.]

ecclesiastical debate. Given the contemporary relevance of Donne's remarks, therefore, it is not insignificant that the 'natural' aspect of this priority echoes Christopher St German's *Doctor and Student* (1523-31) on the concept of equity: all creatures 'lyue under a certeyne rewle to them gyuen by nature'.[91] The equation of fundamentals, of nature with God's law, is thus a key aspect of Donne's rejection both of heterodox teachings and belief and of sectarian enmity, the latter exemplified in his citation of I Corinthians 3.6: 'what *Paul* soever plant amongst you, or what *Apollos* soever water, God himself will give the increase'. [II, 248.] Furthermore, it is on the basis of divine immanence in nature ('here *Paul* plants, and here *Apollo* waters' [II, 242.]) that Donne argues for the justification of natural law: 'The naturall love of our naturall life is not *ill*'. [III, 202.] Natural law, created by God, is thus divinely appointed in Donne's conception, and it represents an ultimate judicial criterion that 'had that signification in practise, before any Law was given for it'. [IV, 257.]

This proposed equivalence of natural law and God's law points to a further, significant aspect of the politic nature of Donne's exegesis in the context of his impending chaplaincy to the Doncaster embassy. For as Plucknett points out, the appeal to an ultimate juridical criterion, in which natural law or equity licenses the possibility of '*non obstante*', goes under various names.[92] 'Aristotle calls it *epikeia*, the legists call it interpretation, the canonists call it dispensation, and the *politici* call it

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[91] *St German's Doctor and Student*, ed. by T. F. T. Plucknett and J. L. Barton (Selden Society, 1974), p. 13. *Doctor and Student* proposes a general definition concerning the natural law, or the 'Lawe of Reason', that is chiefly drawn from Aquinas and Gerson (pp. 13-19).

[92] '*Non obstante*' is defined as 'the act of the English king by which he dispenses with the law, that is, authorizes its violation.' See *The Cyclopedic Law Dictionary*, ed. by Walter A. Schumaker and George F. Longsdorf (Chicago, 1912), p. 315. See also Edmund Plowden, *The Commentaries or Reports*, 2 pts (1761), Pt 1, 502.

good faith.'[93] Donne's recognition of the same equitable or discretionary principle running through numerous discourses – political rhetoric, scriptural exegesis, and diplomatic speech – is central to the interpretative sobriety of his sermons preached against the backdrop of the Thirty Years' War.

In this study of Donne's exegetical method, however, a key question concerns Donne's application of the concept of natural law in *practice*. For whilst natural law's flexibility could be used to make justice more equitable, and exegesis more nuanced, the very ambiguity of the term could also empty it of meaning. By the close of the sixteenth century, as Robert Ornstein observes, there were as many natural law interpretations as there were schools of philosophy. Pietro Pomponazzi (a Paduan rationalist), Pierre Charron (a disciple of Montaigne), Francisco Suárez (a Jesuit neo-Thomist), and Guillaume du Vair (a 'Christian Stoic') all believed in natural law 'but their ideas of right reason were hardly identical or even compatible.'[94] In *Biathanatos*, Donne himself laments that the term 'natural law' is:

> so variously and unconstantly deliver'd, as I confess I read it a hundred times before I can understand it once, or can conclude it to signify that which the author should at that time mean.[95]

By coincidence and probably unbeknown to Donne, a relevant example of the 'various and unconstant' delivery of natural law came just one day after Donne preached his *Sermon of Valediction*. For on 19 April 1619, in a Determination in the

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[93] *St German's Doctor and Student*, ed. by T. F. T. Plucknett and J. L. Barton, p. xlvi. For a full account of the classical origins, development and reception of natural law in the early modern period, see R. S. White, *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 21-71.

[94] Ornstein, 'Donne, Montaigne, and Natural Law', in *Essential Articles for the Study of John Donne's Poetry*, ed. by John R. Roberts (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1975), pp. 129-41 (p. 135).

[95] Sullivan, ed., *Biathanatos*, Pt 1, Dist. 1, Sect. 7 (p. 40).

Divinity Schools in Cambridge, David Owen delivered a refutation in Latin of the perceived anti-monarchism of the Heidelberg theologian David Pareus. Owen's refutation begins by arguing for 'the absolute power of Kings, from the Dictate of Nature';[96] and continues by noting the 'natural' basis for the 'Law of Nations' (since this law is observed by all, as is Nature). Upon this foundation of natural law, Owen then constructed his refutation from a host of legal, scriptural, and patristic authorities, and 'the most Famous Doctors of the Reformed Church'.[97] In contrast to Owen's concept of natural law as the root of a Thomist system of speculative reason, however, Donne's own usage of the law of nature, in his sermons and controversial prose, inclined towards empiricism. In turn, the practical, empirical nature of Donne's concept of natural law is closely correlated with the accommodating style of his homiletics: for the idea of natural law is directly measured, in Donne's thought, against the reality of human moral codes.[98]

In part, Donne's wariness of a 'pure' concept of natural law untutored by experience reflects a rueful awareness of his own imaginative tendency: 'there may arise some Paradoxicall imaginations in my selfe, and yet these never attaine to the setlednesse of an opinion, but they float in the fancy, and are but waking dreames'. [VI, 317.] Yet the 'Paradoxicall imaginations' finds in himself are also inherent in the

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[96] Davide Owen, *Anti-Paraeus: sive Determinatio de Iure Regio habita Cantabrigiæ in Scholis Theologicis, 19. April. 1619* (1622), p. 68. In support of this argument Owen cites the example of the queen bee's status in a hive, taken from Ambrose, Cyprian and Jerome.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 69. Owen's common law authorities include Thomas de Walsingham and Henry de Bracton; civilians cited include Bartolus, Baldus, and Alberico Gentili; Church Fathers include Tertullian, Athanasius, Iræneus, Basil, Chrysostom; Protestant divines include Luther, Melanchthon, Cranmer, and Tyndale. Calvin is pointedly excluded due to Pareus's High Calvinism.

[98] Ornstein, 'Donne, Montaigne, and Natural Law', p. 137.

concept of natural law, as witnessed by Donne's *ad absurdum* argument in *Biathanatos* that if universality is the mark of natural laws, then customs such as idolatry and murder must also be considered as natural. Nevertheless, Donne does not therefore conclude in *Biathanatos* that there are no objective moral standards. Crucially for Donne's judicious, accommodating style of exegesis, he recognises the need to adapt the overarching principles of 'Naturall Law' to the case that is *sui generis*:

> as *Aquinas* sayes, The lower you go towards perticulars [*sic*], the more you depart from the necessity of being bound to it. [...] But though our Substance of Nature (which is best vnderstood of the foundations, and principles and first grounds of naturall Law) may not be changed, yet *functio naturæ*, (which is the exercise and application thereof, and deduction from thence) may, and must.[99]

A key facet of Donne's flexible application of natural law is his emphasis on the historical context of each individual case. In psychological terms, Donne's emphasis on history, recalling Augustine, translates into accent on memory. In his 1619 *Sermon of Valediction* Donne urges his Lincoln's Inn auditory to recall recent events in British political history – the 1588 Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Reformation itself – in order to perceive the presence of God's mercy in each instance:

> If thy memory cannot comprehend his mercy at large shewed to his whole Church, (as it is almost an incomprehensible thing, that in so few yeers he made us of the Reformation, equall even in number to our adversaries of the Roman Church,) If thy memory have not held that picture of our general deliverance from the Navy; (if that mercy be written in the water and in the sands, where it was perform'd, and not in thy heart) if thou remember not our deliverance from that artificiall Hell, the Vault, (in which, though his instruments failed of their plot, they did not blow us up; yet the Devil goes forward with his plot, if ever he can blow out; if he can get that deliverance to be forgotten.) [II, 237-38.]

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[99] Sullivan, ed., *Biathanatos*, Pt 1, Dist. 2, Sect. 2 (p. 46).

As Achsah Guibbory observes, the recollection of deliverance from 'the Navy' and 'from that artificiall Hell, the Vault' are also proleptic images of the deliverance of man in the future, of the final resurrection at the Apocalypse. Far from being merely a faculty for the recalling of moral resolutions, the memory, as A. M. Guite points out, 'can become a sacrament through which God communicates himself to us directly.'[100] Memory, as in Donne's *cri de cœur* ('In my long absence, and far distance from hence, remember me' [II, 248.]), is thus the faculty central to Donne's rhetoric of valediction and his call to repentance in his writing of early 1619. For in Donne's *Sermon of Valediction* it is memory of affliction, both spiritual and of the body politic, by which the Holy Ghost brings man to repentance: 'this Gold is for the most part in the washes; this Repentance in matters of tribulation'. [II, 235.]

It is also significant that Donne's favoured definition of the memory, St Bernard's '*Stomachus animæ*', is ruminative. This is consistent with Donne's preference for meditative sobriety in scriptural exegesis, and nuanced application of the natural law, *functio naturæ*, in matters of ethics. For, in accord with the well-established Augustinian formulation, 'the stomach of the soul', in contrast to the faculties of understanding and will, provides the 'neerest way' to lead a man to God:

> for the understanding, that requires long and cleer instruction; and the will requires an instructed understanding before, and is in it self the blindest and boldest faculty; but if the memory doe but fasten upon any of those things which God hath done for us, it is the neerest way to him. [II, 235.]

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[100] Guibbory, 'John Donne and Memory as "the Art of Salvation"', *HLQ*, 43.4 (Autumn 1980), 261-74 (pp. 265-66); Guite, 'The Art of Memory and the Art of Salvation: The Centrality of Memory in the Sermons of John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes', *Seventeenth Century*, 4.1 (1989), 1-17 (p. 14). See also Noralyn Masselink, 'Donne's Epistemology and the Appeal to Memory', *JDJ*, 8.1-2 (1989), 57-88.

It is memory, also, to which Donne appeals in the concluding exhortation of his *Sermon of Valediction*. Couched in the personal terms of his leave-taking of friends and colleagues among the Lincoln's Inn auditory, Donne's exordium makes what is perhaps his clearest public statement of his view of the political justice of the Protestant Bohemian cause:

> Remember me thus, you that stay in this Kingdome of peace, where no sword is drawn, but the sword of Justice, as I shal remember you in those Kingdomes, where ambition on one side, and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other side hath drawn many swords [II, 248-49].

In Donne's dialectical view of the Bohemian crisis ('ambition on one side, and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other'), political tact briefly gives way to rhetorical zeal.[101] Yet Donne's stated concern for justice – in contrast to a tacit concession to an 'unjust' peace – once again echoes the concerns and language of the Synod of Dort, in this case the words of the Synod's opening prayer delivered by Balthazar Lydius:

> Cause us always to remember, that the contention which joins us to God, is much better than the peace which separates us from him: that there are two dear and twin sisters, *Truth* and *Peace*, and that *Peace* will not abide with us, unles [*sic*] we cherish her sister *Truth*.[102]

This delicate rhetorical balance, between the 'twin sisters, truth and peace', lies at the heart of Donne's religious eloquence. In his 1619-1623 sermons, the irenicism recommended to the British delegates at Dort is echoed in Donne's sober exegesis and

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[101] An earlier draft of the sermon, represented by the *Ashmole*, *Dobell*, *Dowden*, *Ellesmere*, *Lothian*, and *Merton* manuscripts, reads 'imminent persecution', reflecting the date at which it was preached. 'Imminent' had been revised to 'unjust' by 1661, when *XXVI Sermons* was published. Also the MS version contains the phrase 'hath drawn many swords already', changed simply to 'many swords' in the folio.

[102] Brandt, *History of the Reformation*, III, 9.

careful distinction, via the appeal to ultimate judicial criteria such as natural law, between matters 'dogmaticall' and 'problematicall'.[103] The auditory is called to ruminate on Donne's balanced exposition by way of personal and historical recollection:

> remember me, as I shall do you in the ears of that God, to whom the farthest East, and the farthest West are but as the right and left ear in one of us; we hear with both at once, and he hears in both at once [II, 248].

Here, as in Donne's poem 'The Will', diplomacy and preaching are associated with listening. 'Here I bequeath [...] / My tongue to Fame; to'Embassadours mine eares'.[104] Jeanne Shami suggests that in Donne's conception, 'Those who hear with two ears – in stereo – extend the text "fairely"'.[105] In contrast to such balanced interpretations of Scripture, Donne cites the one-eared 'singularity' of much controversial divinity. Donne's emphasis on the need to transcend factional divisions also echoes Joseph Hall's oration at the Synod of Dort. In the first sermon at the synod by a foreign preacher, Hall's exposition of Romans 9 sought to inspire his auditory with the rhetoric of assurance: 'O chaste Spouse of Christ! O prosperous republic! this, your afflicted church, tossed with the billows of differing opinions, will yet reach the harbour, and safely smile at all the storms excited by her cruel

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[103] Both Donne's irenicism and that of Dort, it must be emphasised, was of a graduated nature. Initial confessional agreement between the Reformed participants of Dort, following du Moulin's original scheme, was to lead to possible confessional talks with the Lutherans. This in turn, it was more hoped than believed, might lead to Rome. (Brandt, *History of the Reformation,* II, 153-57.)

[104] *Poems*, p. 53.

[105] In a sermon preached to King Charles on 24 February 1626. (*Sermons*, VII, 74.) Cited by Shami, '"Speaking Openly and Speaking First": John Donne, the Synod of Dort, and the Early Stuart Church', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, pp. 35-65 (pp. 52-53).

adversaries.'[106] In strikingly similar terms, Donne encapsulates both the geographical and spiritual separations of his imminent voyage – between 'farthest East' and 'farthest West' – in the climactic nautical imagery of *Sermon of Valediction.*

> and Christ Jesus remember us all in his Kingdome, to which, though we must sail through a sea, it is the sea of his blood, where no soul suffers shipwrack; though we must be blown with strange winds, with sighs and groans for our sins, yet it is the Spirit of God that blows all this wind, and shall blow away all contrary winds of diffidence or distrust in Gods mercy [II, 249].[107]

Conformist decorum, here, seems strained to the limit by the tidal motion of Donne's oratory and its thinly veiled allusion to the 'sighs' and 'groans' of beleaguered co-religionists abroad. The typological image of the Flood recalls the 'fountains of the deep' of Genesis 7.11, whilst the 'sea of his blood' connotes eucharistic redemption. Through scriptural memory and sacramental re-enactment Donne looks back to the old covenant between God and man, and forward to the new. At the same time, Donne's allusive *elocutio* characteristically integrates the passing sighs of human affliction with the eternal providence of God's judgement. And yet, despite Donne's foreboding, 'distrust' is blown away and 'no soul suffers shipwrack'. Ezekiel's 'groans' are assuaged by the Spirit and Donne's *moto spirituale* ends in divine mercy. Thus, as in the multi-layered imagery of 'Hymne to Christ, at the Authors last going into Germany', Donne's exegetical decorum remains afloat, if only just:

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[106] *The Articles of the Synod of Dort*, trans. Thomas Scott (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1856), p. 25. Hall's choice of Romans 9 was not arbitrary. The initial sparks of division within the Reformed Churches had resulted from a sermon on the text by Arminius.

[107] The hypotyposis of the Flood also recalls Donne's verse letter 'The Storme'. (*Poems*, pp. 182-84.)

In what torne ship soever I embarke,
That ship shall be my embleme of thy Arke;
What sea soever swallow mee, that flood
Shall be to mee an embleme of thy bloode [...][108]

This chapter has sought to examine Donne's view of the role of the preacher in early 1619 in anticipation of his diplomatic mission with Doncaster's embassy. Donne's analogy between preacher and ambassador suggests the mediating role of the embassy chaplain, and predicates Donne's appeal to natural law as an ultimate judicial criterion in 'problematicall' matters of religion. In this way, Donne's *sui generis* application of the *functio naturæ* corresponds with the 'blessed sobriety' of the British delegates at Dort – providing further evidence of the diplomatic context of Donne's sermons in 1619. Moreover, the language of natural law also links a specific aspect of Donne's theology – his 'hypothetical universalism' – with its political corollary in diplomatic terms: the *ius gentium* of Alberico Gentili and Hugo Grotius, the emerging international law of nations.

By 4 May 1619 the Doncaster embassy had finally gathered at Gravesend for departure to the continent. The next chapter, therefore, will explore the nature of Donne's sermon rhetoric within the specific contexts of sermons preached before international auditories at both the court of the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg in June, and also at the Hofkapel of the Dutch States General in The Hague in December 1619.

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[108] *Poems*, p. 372. A number of editors have pointed out the striking similarities in phrase and imagery between the peroration of *Sermon of Valediction* and *Hymne to Christ*, see H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Poems of John Donne* (1912), II, 243; Gardner, ed., *Divine Poems*, p. 106; E. M. Simpson, ed., *Donne's Sermon of Valediction at His Going into Germany* (Oxford: Nonesuch Press, 1932), p. 2.

Donne's Route through Europe with the Doncaster Embassy: May-December 1619

Map ref.: C. V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War*, rev. edn (Jonathan Cape, 1971), *facing* p. 9.

<u>Doncaster Embassy Itinerary, May-Dec 1619</u>

May	
12	Dover
13	Calais
	Antwerp
26	Brussels
June	
	Cologne
8	Frankfurt
12	Heidelberg
	Stuttgart
	Ulm
	Augsburg
	Munich
	Wasserburg
July	
5	Salzburg
	Nuremberg
18	Heidelberg
20	Frankfurt
	Heidelberg
August	
16	Cologne
18	Aix-la-Chapelle
	Spa
31	Maastricht
September	
9	Cologne
	Frankfurt
	Nuremberg
	Ratisbon
October	
21	Vienna
	Graz
November	
7	Vienna
21	Nuremberg
	Worms
	Heidelberg
	Arnhem
December	
14	Haarlem
15	Leyden
16	The Hague
31	London

2. Donne and the 'Second Reformation': Preaching in Heidelberg and The Hague

DONNE'S HEIDELBERG SERMON: ADJUNCT TO DIPLOMACY

On 10 June 1619, a month after setting out from England, the Doncaster embassy arrived in the outskirts of Heidelberg.[1] The extent or nature of Donne's duties as chaplain in those early weeks of the diplomatic mission is not known. Only two of Donne's sermons from the embassy are extant: the sermon preached in Heidelberg on 16 June, and the address delivered at The Hague on 19 December. A 1622 letter from Doncaster, however, recalls Donne's spiritual counsel to the 1619 embassy with affection: '*My dear Dean*, I must now live upon the crums of my German Devotions; which, if I had carefullie gathered up, had been an eternall Feast.'[2]

As chaplain, Donne would have observed at first-hand the many questions of diplomatic protocol faced by the embassy. One such dilemma presented itself to Doncaster immediately upon his arrival at Heidelberg. At this time the Elector Palatine was absent at Heilbronn in council with the other Princes of the Evangelical Union, 'upon a finall deliberation how to governe themselves for their owne defence, and the maintenance of the Reformed religion'.[3] Invited by Princess Elizabeth to settle his train at Heidelberg Castle, Doncaster feared, in his capacity as James I's

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[1] For the embassy's route to Heidelberg, see Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 30-117; BL MS Egerton 2592, fols 40, 42; and map above, p. 63. Joseph Hall's letter to Samuel Ward at the Synod of Dort also refers to the original route proposed for the embassy: 'My Lo. of Doncaster will shortly see you in his way to Germanye, whither he goes Ambass. D^{r}. Dun goes his Chaplaine'. (Bodl. MS Tanner 74, fol. 113.)

[2] Written from Bordeaux during Doncaster's ambassadorship to France. The letter was accompanied with a gift of a tun of claret, 'against your Michaelmas-Hospitalitie, where I mean to be.' (*Tobie Mathews*, p. 323.)

[3] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 133 (Doncaster to Sir Robert Naunton, 19 June 1619, from Heidelberg).

ambassador, 'what constructions might be made' of his impartiality should he accept. For Doncaster himself to attend the Heilbronn conference was also out of the question, 'because I feared the report of my being at their Assembly would give a great alarme to King Ferdinand and his party, and render me useles for their service in this my negotiation'.[4]

Doncaster's concern for appearances provides a context, largely overlooked in previous studies, for apparently unaccommodating remarks made by Donne in his Heidelberg sermon. R. C. Bald interprets Donne's comments in Heidelberg on the fraught question of predestination as 'a direct confutation of Calvinistic doctrine'.[5] In contrast, Paul Sellin argues that Donne 'combined the tenets of Reformed orthodoxy with a [...] willingness to conform to the Church of England in outward things'. Sellin thus concludes that Donne 'would have been an ideal spokesman for Britain in a Reformed world facing dangerous enemies after the Synod of Dort.'[6] How, if at all, might these conflicting points of view be reconciled?

Donne's sermon text in Heidelberg was Romans 13.11: 'For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed'. From this text Donne developed his sermon's soteriological theme: the contentious theological question of the *means* of salvation. In amplifying his theme, Donne initially establishes, as the doctrinal first principle of the Reformation, Luther's notion of justification via faith alone (*sola fide*):

> They who undertook the reformation of Religion in our Fathers dayes, observing that there was no peace without this assurance, expressed this assurance thus, That when a man is sure that he believes aright, that he hath no scruples of God, no diffidence in God, and uses all endeavours

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[4] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 130-31, 130.

[5] Bald, p. 352, n. 1.

[6] Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), p. 177.

> to continue it, and to express it in his life, as long as he continues so, he is sure of Salvation; and farther they went not [II, 265].

In Donne's rendering of Lutheran doctrine, assurance is the corollary of active belief ('to continue it, and to express it in his life'). As Donne observes, however, there subsequently 'arose men, which would reform the Reformers, and refine Salvation and bring it into a lesse room'. [II, 265.][7] For these theologians, salvation depended not so much upon *present* belief, but rather upon belief *per se*: 'If ever you did believe, if ever you had faith [...] upon that assurance you may rest.' [II, 265.]

At pains to avoid controversy, preaching to the Calvinist court in Heidelberg, Donne's sermon adopts a conciliatory tone. 'Now I make no doubt, but that both these ['first' and 'second' generation Reformers] sought the truth [...] and I dispute not their resolutions now'. [II, 265.] In his closing remarks, however, Donne returns to the sense of active faith implied in his scriptural text by the adverb 'now':

> for when it is said now, now that you are in this state, Salvation is neer you: thus much is pugnantly intimated, that if you were not in this state, Salvation were farther removed from you howsoever you pretend to believe. [II, 265.]

For Bald, Donne's emphasis on active or 'lively faith' [II, 263] as a condition for salvation refutes Calvinist doctrine (despite the fact that the expression 'lively faith' is incorporated in the Canons of Dort, First Head of Doctrine, *Of Predestination*, Article 16).[8] On this basis Bald doubts the provenance of the folio text of the Heidelberg sermon, concluding that, 'it is almost certain that the label or title-leaf of the two sermons preached at Heidelberg became detached and in the printed edition was

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[7] Following the precepts of Calvin, leading theologians of the so-called 'Second Reformation' included Theodore Beza, Immanuelo Tremellius, Zacharias Ursinus, and David Pareus.

[8] A 'true & lively Faith' is also called for in the Thirty-Nine Articles, Article 12, *Of Good Works*.

prefixed to the wrong sermon.'[9] The title-leaf in question, in the sermon's only source, *XXVI Sermons* (1661), reads: 'Two Sermons, to the Prince and Princess *Palatine*, the Lady *Elizabeth* at *Heydelberg*, when I was commanded by the King to wait upon my L. of *Doncaster* in his Embassage to *Germany*. *First Sermon as we went out*, June 16. 1619.' Despite the indication in the title of 'Two Sermons' preached at Heidelberg, only one is extant. The modern editors of Donne's sermons, George Potter and Evelyn Simpson, also express misgivings about the labelling of the sermon. Unlike Bald's citing of internal evidence, however, Potter and Simpson find reason for doubt in Donne's choice of scriptural text. Romans 13.11, they observe, is a text usually assigned by the Church 'to the celebration of the *Advent*, before the Feast of the Birth of our Saviour.' [II, 250.][10] However, Donne's exposition makes no direct application of Romans 13.11 to any particular part of the Church calendar. Furthermore, there are a number of examples in Donne's sermons where occasion-specific texts are used out of season. In a 1618 Lent sermon preached at Whitehall, for instance, Donne reflects that his text, Luke 23.40,[11] can be construed variously as 'a Christning-Sermon, and a Funeral-Sermon, and a Sermon at a Consecration, and a Sermon at the Canonization of himself that makes it.' [I, 252.]

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[9] Bald, p. 352, n. 1.

[10] *Sermons*, II, 36-37. Despite their 'misgivings', however, Potter and Simpson adhere to the editorial principle of assigning the sermon on the basis of its title-leaf in the absence of positive proof to suggest that the heading had been misplaced. Annette Deschner, another commentator on the Heidelberg sermon, is silent on the issue of provenance. ('Reforming Baptism: John Donne and Continental Irenicism', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, pp. 293-313.)

[11] Luke 23.40: 'But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?'

Further light may be shed on the provenance of Donne's Heidelberg sermon by examining its preaching context. In which Heidelberg church or chapel might the sermon have been preached? Did the sermon form part of an Anglican or Reformed liturgy? At what point in diplomatic discussions between Doncaster and Frederick was the sermon preached? Can the influence of Heidelberg court culture and politics be discerned in the sermon's exposition, application, and *elocutio*? And might the sermon have been preached in Latin or French, or even in German ('High Dutch')?

The question of language is intriguing. Izaak Walton testifies to Donne's proficiency in languages, reporting that as early as 1584, upon his matriculation at Oxford at the age of twelve, Donne had 'a good command both of the French and Latine Tongue.'[12] Donne's spoken and written French would also have benefited from his embassy to Amiens with Sir Robert Drury in 1612. In Donne's surviving library, almost three-quarters of the books are in Latin, with 21 books in French accounting for a third of the rest.[13] During the Doncaster embassy, correspondence with foreign diplomats was conducted in both Latin and French. In Heidelberg, Frederick's court spoke and wrote in three languages, some preferring French, some Latin, and some German.[14] With no conclusive evidence, however, the question of the language in which Donne preached his Heidelberg sermon remains open.

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[12] Walton, *Lives*, p. 11.

[13] Keynes, pp. 263-79. Donne's surviving library also contains books in English (28), Italian (8), Spanish (1) and Greek (1), but no books in German. For discussion of the extent of Donne's knowledge of the Dutch and German languages, see Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, pp. 12-17.

[14] Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History 1555-1618* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), p. 44. Heidelberg courtiers who preferred French included Christian of Anhalt, Rusdorf, von Solms, and Theobald Moritz. Latin was preferred by Ludwig Camerarius and Dr Michael Lingelsheim. Von Grün and Volrath von Plessen favoured German.

With respect to sermon location, it seems likely that Donne preached in one of three possible places: Heidelberg's Heiligegeistkirche (Holy Ghost church); the Schlosskapel (Heidelberg Castle's Chapel); or Princess Elizabeth's private chapel, also in the castle. Evidence from the heading of a 1613 Abraham Scultetus sermon suggests that Heidelberg court sermons were most likely to have been preached in the '*Castle-Chappell*'.[15] The Schlosskapel would certainly have been an appropriate venue given that Doncaster's train was lodged in the castle. The Heiligegeistkirche appears less likely on the grounds that Donne's was a ferial sermon, preached on a weekday on which there was no church festival, and so probably delivered in a less formal setting than the city's largest church. Given that the folio heading for Donne's sermon indicates that he preached to both 'the Prince and Princess *Palatine*', the Holy Ghost church seems even less probable as Elizabeth only occasionally worshipped in public with her husband (although this could conceivably have been such an occasion). Elizabeth had brought a chaplain (Dr Alexander Chapman) with her to the Palatinate so that she could be 'allowed to worship according to the rites and liturgies of the Church of England'.[16] John Harrison's 1619 account notes the royal couple's practice of separate worship: 'Frederick spent the morning of their departure [to

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[15] *A Sermon, Preached before the two high borne and illustrious Princes, Frederick the 5. Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, & etc. And the Princesse Lady Elizabeth, & etc. Preached in the Castle-Chappell at Heidelberg the 8. of June 1613* (1613). Reflecting the interest in the Elector and his wife in England, this sermon was imprinted in London in 1613, 'Translated out of High Dutch by I. A. Medlus D. and one of his Maiesties Chaplaines'. Another link between English and German Protestantism in this period lies in Scultetus's dedication to George Abbot's *Explicatio sex illustrium questionum* (Frankfurt, 1616). A copy of this Frankfurt edition formerly belonging to Donne, containing many pencil markings, is now in Dr Williams's library. (Keynes, p. 263.)

[16] M. A. Green, *Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia* (Methuen, 1885), p. 33. (BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.xi, fol. 368; and BL MS Harley 5112, fol. 119.)

Prague] listening to a sermon by Abraham Scultetus, and Elizabeth attended an English service by her court clergyman, Dr Chapman, in her private chapel.'[17] That Donne's sermon was preached to both the Elector and Electress would also, therefore, seem to rule out any likelihood of the oration being delivered in Elizabeth's private chapel.[18]

Assuming the preaching location of the Schlosskapel, it also seems possible that Donne's sermon formed part of a Reformed rather than an Anglican liturgy.[19] The service would thus have comprised hymns, psalms, Scripture readings and formal prayers. Certainly, Reform emphasis on the ministry of the Word is echoed in Donne's exhortation to his Heidelberg auditory: 'all thy natural faculties shall be employed upon an assent to the Gospel, thou shalt be able to prove it to thy self, and to prove it to others'. [II, 262.][20] At the same time, however, in his discussion of the Eucharist, Donne also maintains conformity with the sacramental emphasis of the

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[17] *A Short Relation of the Departure of the High and Mightie Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia: with his royall and virtuous Ladie Elizabeth* (Dort, 1619), sig. $A2^{v}$. For discussion of the career of Dr Chapman, see Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1938), p. 416, n. 4.

[18] Nor does it seem likely that Dr Chapman, as Elizabeth's chaplain, would have invited Donne to preach there.

[19] For discussion of differences between Reformed and Anglican liturgies, see Gale H. Carrithers Jr and James D. Hardy Jr, '"Not upon a Lecture, but upon a Sermon": Devotional Dynamics of the Donnean Fisher of Men', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, 335-359 (p. 336). See also Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Dacre Press, 1945), pp. 613-99.

[20] For the evangelical emphasis of Reformed confessions, see Canons of Dort, Fifth Head of Doctrine, Article 14; and Heidelberg Catechism, Questions 65 and 83. Q83: 'What are the keys of the kingdom of heaven? The preaching of the holy gospel'.

Book of Common Prayer (1549-1604): 'whosoever receives this sacrament worthily, sees evidently an entrance, and growth of grace in himself.' [II, 258.][21]

In such controversial matters of liturgy and doctrine it was necessary for a preacher to choose his words with care. Donne's emphasis is on the nature of the reception of the sacrament, not on the sacrament itself. Characteristically, this distinction is encapsulated by Donne in the comparison of two prepositions. Thus a man may receive grace through 'adoration *at* the sacrament', but he may not receive it through 'adoration *of* the sacrament'.[22] In the first case, the bread is instrumental in the 'adoring of God'; and in the latter, the bread, 'out of a false imagination that that bread is God' [II, 258], becomes the object of adoration itself. For Donne and his Calvinist auditory, the latter doctrine of transubstantiation was a prime example of 'the superstition and Idolatry in the practise of the Roman Church'. [II, 258.]

Donne's censure of the rituals and beliefs of the Roman Church, however, also served a broader irenic purpose: namely, avoiding controversy between Protestant Churches over the doctrine of the Eucharist. For Calvinists disparagingly referred to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation (and the related doctrine of ubiquitarianism) as '*manducatio impiorum*'.[23] In his effort to transcend such disputes, and in his persistent appeal in the Heidelberg sermon to the *ecclesia christiana* and to

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[21] Cf. *The Book of Common Prayer, King James Anno 1604* (William Pickering, 1844), sig. Y4[r]. In the catechism the two parts of the sacrament are described as 'the outward visible signe, and the inward spirituall grace.'

[22] My italics.

[23] Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism and Dogmatics in the Confessional Age: Pareus and Comenius in Heidelberg, 1614', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46.3 (1995), 432-56 (p. 448). For an overview of confessional distinctions regarding the Eucharist, see Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England 1603-1690* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), I, 80-85.

fundamental Christian beliefs, Donne conformed to a wider European irenic tradition, roots for which can be found in the *philosophia Christi* of Christian humanists such Erasmus, Bucer, Melanchthon, and Cassander.[24] European irenicism, which bore fruit in the Polish *Consensus Sedomirensis* (1570),[25] was also indebted, in part, to Palatine theologians such as Zacharias Ursinus (1534-83), Franciscus Junius the Elder (1545-1602), and David Pareus (1548-1622). That the motivation for the confessional tolerance of such men was not purely theological also suggests a parallel with the non-dogmatic nature of Donne's exegesis.[26] For as Howard Hotson observes, 'peace with one confession was the price to be paid in order to survive war with another.' In a confessional age, the irenicism of Donne's Heidelberg sermon functions, as Hotman puts it, as 'an adjunct of diplomacy.'[27]

In establishing common doctrinal ground between the English embassy and its Heidelberg hosts, Donne refers to Calvin himself:

> *Calvin* saies [...] *non possumus nisi externis signis adjuti, statuere Deum nobis esse propitium*, we could not assure our selves of the mercies of God, if we had not outward and sensible signs and seals of those mercies [II, 254].

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[24] G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Protestant Irenicism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *The End of Strife*, ed. by David Loades (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984), pp. 77-93. Donne refers to Melanchthon in at least three sermons: III, 147; IV, 435; VII, 492, 607.

[25] A dogmatic concession between Lutherans, the Reformed Church, and the Bohemian Brothers. (Wilhelm Neuser, 'Dogma und Bekenntnis in der Reformation: Von Zwingli und Calvin bis zur Synode von Westminster', in *Handbuch zur Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte*, ed. by Bernhard Lohse and others, 3 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1988), II, 167-85.)

[26] Donne's interest in irenic philosophy also extended to less well-known authorities such as the Hungarian scholar, Andreas Dudith (1533-1589). Donne's extant library contained a copy of Dudith's *Orationes in Concil. Trident. habitæ* (Offenbach, 1610). (Keynes, p. 268.)

[27] Hotson, 'Irenicism and Dogmatics in the Confessional Age', p. 453.

The 'outward signs' of the sacraments, Donne suggests, represent one among a number of 'visible means of knowing God'. Nature, in the Book of Creatures, offers another: 'from the first leaf of that book, the firmament above, to the last leaf, the Mines under our feet'. [II, 253.] Although Nature, and natural reason, do not in themselves produce grace, 'yet grace can take root in no other thing but in the nature and reason of man'. Thus for Donne, as in the analytic discourse of Heidelberg Calvinist theologians such as Junius, Olevian, Tremellius, and Ursinus, grace 'works upon our natural faculties' [II, 261], and belief is rooted in rationality.[28]

Donne's Heidelberg sermon *dilatatio* draws out a further aspect of the relation between natural reason and divine grace. In proposing that Christians are 'nearer' salvation than Jews, Donne argues that Christian laws and sacraments are derived empirically from history, 'that which is already done and accomplished'. In contrast, Donne observes, Jewish law is messianic, relating to 'things of a future expectation'. [II, 259.] 'The inestimable prerogative of the Christian religion', as opposed to Judaism, is that it is 'brought so far from matter of faith, to matter of fact; from prophecy to history'. [II, 260.] In a similar fashion, the Palatine theologian Ursinus regarded the covenant of grace as bound to the historical work of Christ as revealed in the Gospels.[29] To his Heidelberg auditory, therefore, Donne's exegetical search for an

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[28] Ernst Bizer identified Ursinus as one of those primarily responsible for an encroaching rationalism within Reformed theology. See *Frühorthodoxie und Rationalismus* (Zurich, 1963), pp. 16-32, cited in Christopher J. Burchill, 'On the Consolation of a Christian Scholar: Zacharias Ursinus (1534-83) and the Reformation in Heidelberg', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37.4 (1986), 565-83 (p. 580).

[29] Ursinus, *Opera Theologica* (Heidelberg, 1612), III, 707-10.

original, historical basis for the *unitas protestantium* would not have been out of step with their own theological and political concerns.[30]

The date of Donne's Heidelberg sermon, 16 June, came just three days after Doncaster's first full audience with the Elector Palatine. At this meeting, as Doncaster wrote to Sir Robert Naunton, Frederick described 'the face of the troubles upon the field'. Bohemian forces led by Count Mansfeld had recently been defeated at Zablat by a Habsburg army under the Count of Bucquoy. At the same time, the Palatine generals von Thurn and von Hohenlohe continued to lay siege to Vienna, the capital city of Ferdinand, emperor-elect. In Frederick's view, 'humors on both sides [had been] so stiffend by those late advantages' that Doncaster's efforts at mediation 'would prove a tough piece of worke'. The same pessimistic opinion, Doncaster added, 'dayly beates my eares from all partes'.[31] Perhaps in response to the events recorded in Doncaster's report, Donne's Heidelberg sermon calls for theological and political restraint. 'A man may believe the Christian Religion, or the Reformed Religion for his ease', Donne remarks, without having to 'debate controversies, and reconcile differences'. Similarly, a man may also adopt a pragmatic basis for belief,

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[30] Further evidence of Donne's interest in Palatinate theology, philosophy and law lies in the fact that his library held copies of two books by the Heidelberg law professor Franciscus Balduinus: *Constantinus Magnus, sive de Constantini Imperatoris Legibus Ecclesiasticis atque Civilibus* (Strassburg, 1612); and, *Passio Typica seu liber unus typorum veteris Testamenti* (Wittenberg, 1614). (Keynes, p. 264.)

[31] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 133, 157, 133 (Doncaster to Naunton, 19 June 1619, from Heidelberg). Doncaster also reports the promised intervention of the Spanish, leading to 'all the Ecclesiastical Princes being in armes, and, as it is feared, intending to bring it to warre of Religion'. (I, 134.)

'because he sees it best for order and quiet, and civil ends, which he hath in that state where he lives.' [II, 264.][32]

In diplomatic terms, Donne's call for temperance in matters of belief was consistent with the King's instructions to the Doncaster embassy: 'to put a speedy end to the revolutions and discords of Bohemia', and to attempt to avert a war of religion on the continent.[33] Such peaceful objectives, however, did not necessarily correspond with the more aggressive line taken by influential members of the Palatine Oberrat such as Christian of Anhalt and Ludwig Camerarius.[34] Nevertheless, in June 1619 the Palsgrave and his advisers still hoped that James might be persuaded to put the weight of British arms behind the defence of the Protestant *causa communis*, a concept which comprised two key notions: *religio evangelica* (the interests of the whole of Protestantism, both Lutheran and Reformed); and *libertas Germaniæ* (freedom from Spanish servitude).[35] Every diplomatic effort, therefore, was made to maintain the British king's favour. Indeed, Princess Elizabeth herself wrote to James's favourite, Buckingham, on Christian of Anhalt's behalf: 'for feare he shoulde be hard censured in concilling the Prince to the warres, to intreat you not to beleeve of him anie thing hardlie'.[36]

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[32] Cf. The Thirty-Nine Articles, Article 35, *Of the Homilies*, 21: 'Against Rebellion'.

[33] See 'Instructions given by the King to Doncaster, 14 April 1619' – translated from the Spanish, in the Archives of Simancas, MS 2599, fol. 103. (Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 69.)

[34] Other important Palatine politicians in 1619 included von Schönberg, von Solms, von Plessen, and Achatius and Christof von Dohna. (Clasen, p. 19.)

[35] For a focus on the constitutional aspects of the Bohemia-Palatinate crisis, see Brennan Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the 30 Years' War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), esp. p. 288.

[36] Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 2; Bodl. MS Tanner 74, fol. 219. (22 August 1619, from Heidelberg.)

The Palatine need for English support is thus a key context for Donne's Heidelberg sermon, overlooked in recent critical studies. Under such circumstances, it seems unlikely that Donne's cautious discussion of faith, grace, and predestination, hedged in with tactful expressions of goodwill, would have affronted his auditory's sensibilities. As the recently concluded Synod of Dort had shown, doctrinal differences over predestination did not preclude broader accommodation between English, Dutch, and other forms of Reformed confessions of belief. Donne's enthusiastic preaching of the Word – 'we have a delight to glorifie God in our discourses' [II, 263] – would also have recommended him to his auditory. Lastly, both Donne and his Palatine congregation shared a common conception of exegetical method, of *sola scriptura*. For unable to endorse fully a Gomarist view of extreme predestination, Donne could at least demur on the basis of his scriptural text, 'these words which we have in hand now' [II, 265]; and thus would not, perhaps, have been deemed unacceptable by those 'men, which would reform the Reformers'.

'HE SENDS US NOT AS *SPIES*': DONNE'S DIPLOMATIC METHODS

On the 19 June 1619, Donne and the Doncaster embassy left Heidelberg en route to Habsburg Vienna. Travelling eastwards via Ulm, Augsburg and Munich, the embassy finally overtook Ferdinand in Salzburg on 5 July.[37] In Stuttgart, the embassy had been fêted with a *Panegyricke* in *ottava rima*, presented in English by George Rodolfe Weckherlin.[38] A less rapturous welcome, however, awaited Doncaster in

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[37] See Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 30-117.

[38] *A Panegyricke to the most honourable and renowned Lord, the Lord Hays Viscount of Doncaster, His Maiesties of Great-Brittaine Ambassadour in Germanie* (Stuttgart, 1619). Weckherlin translated several of Donne's epigrams into German. See *Gaistliche und weltliche Gedichte* (Amsterdam, 1641).

Salzburg, where Habsburg confidence had been bolstered by Bucquoy's defeat of Mansfeld in late June. As a result, the bargaining power of the English ambassador was significantly weakened, and no amount of argument or persuasion on Doncaster's part 'could move his Majesty [Ferdinand] one hayres breadth out of the circle' which the Austrian king was 'charmed to keepe'.[39]

With the imperial elections in Frankfurt now looming, Doncaster's train hastened back to Heidelberg to report to Frederick, arriving on 18 July, almost a month to the day after its departure. It seems likely that Donne preached the second of his 'Two Sermons to the Prince and Princess *Palatine*' on this date, prior to departing for Spa – though this particular sermon is now lost.[40] As chaplain to Doncaster's embassy, Donne's approach to his sermons would have been informed, at least in part, by the King's official instructions; and it is that connexion which this section proposes to examine. Indeed, in a 1622 sermon Donne draws a further analogy between the minister's duty to preach according to God's word, and the ambassador's duty to act according to his commission and instructions:

> And upon due contemplation of both these, (his *Commission*, and his *Instructions*) arises the use of the Ambassadors judgement and discretion, in making his Commission, and his Instructions, (which do not always agree in all points, but are often various, and perplext) serve most advantagiously towards the ends of his negotiation. [IV, 224.]

The overarching theme of James's directions to Doncaster, as seen previously, was to bring a prompt end to strife in Bohemia. However, the King's orders also set out a number of more detailed objectives, the brief delineation of which will help to

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[39] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 162-63.

[40] Bald, p. 357.

set Donne's international sermons in their political context.[41] The King's specific aims were fourfold. 'First, that the Jesuits should be limited to their own functions, and that they should not meddle with matters of state'. Second, that Ferdinand should abide by his oath to protect the civil and religious freedoms of his Protestant subjects in Bohemia. Third, that the Bohemian Protestants should 'quietly enjoy the patents, agreements, and ordinances granted in past times'; and fourth, that all Protestant officials should be restored to their former offices.[42] Edward McCabe, doubtful of the practicality of the King's orders, remarks that, 'The greatest part is devoted to a review of the dreary arguments published by the Bohemians in their first and in their second Apologia. The atmosphere is that of the schools, not of the world at large.'[43] But to some extent, it was precisely this blend of confessional legalism ('the school') and constitutional *realpolitik* ('the world at large') that lay at the heart of the Bohemian conflict.[44]

As Donne was Reader in Divinity at Lincoln's Inn, and steeped in both common and civil law, it is no surprise that his sermons demonstrate a discernible method *de jure* in conforming to the embassy's aims: 'for [...] we consider the law to be

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[41] For discussion of the necessary obedience of the ambassador to his instructions, however unwise he thinks them, see Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus, Libri Tres* (1594), trans. Gordon J. Laing (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1995), I, 197.

[42] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 73-74.

[43] 'England's Foreign Policy in 1619: Lord Doncaster's Embassy to the Princes of Germany', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (1950), 457-77 (p. 471).

[44] Invariably based on the 1609-10 'Letters patents of Rodulphus', Bohemian legal apologiae in this period typically blamed civil unrest on the 'crafty and subtill meanes' of the Jesuits. See *Newes From Bohemia. An Apologie Made by the Estates of the Kingdome of Bohemia, shewing the Reasons why those of the Reformed Religion were moued to take Armes for the defence of the king and themselves, especially against the dangerous Sect of Jesuites* (1619), sig. A2^{v}.

salvation'. [II, 256.] Perhaps in response to the arid legalism of the Bohemian apologiae, Donne's Heidelberg sermon recognises the risk of religious and civil paralysis that attends a surfeit of law:

> For [...] they [the Jews] had a vast multiplicity of laws, scarce less than 600 several laws; whereas the honor of the Christian religion is, that it is *verbum abbreviatum*, an abridgment of all into ten words, as *Moses* calls the Commandements [II, 256].

Law, and its uncertain relation to politics, was also central to James I's ambivalence over Bohemia. The King's tracts on divine right, such as *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, proceed via dense legal argumentation.[45] For obvious reasons, therefore, James was unwilling to accept the legal and constitutional case for the Bohemian Diet's deposition of Ferdinand and its election of Frederick in his stead.[46] As James reportedly told Frederick's emissary: 'he did not hear without displeasure of the introduction by the people of the practice of dethroning kings and princes.'[47] James's sceptical view of the legality of Frederick's election to the Bohemian crown may also have been shaped by the rebellious nature of the German Reformation itself. The kinship between religious reform and political disorder is thus hinted at in Donne's poem 'Jealousie' (first published as 'Elegie I' in the 1633 folio), where Donne juxtaposes the German reputation for scorning papal authority with the less exalted civic defiance of the London borough of Southwark:

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[45] The case for the legality of divine right was also made by contemporary preachers. Cf. Thomas Ingmethorpe, *A Sermon Upon the Words of Saint Paul: Let everie soule be subiect unto the higher powers. Rom. 13.1, December, 1618* (1619).

[46] For an overview of the constitutional background to the Bohemian revolt, see Victor S. Mamatey, *Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1815* (Malabar, FL: Krieger, 1978), pp. 14, 28-31, 49-51.

[47] Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 148 (Girolamo Lando to the Doge of Venice, 30 January 1620, from London).

There we will scorne his household policies,
His seely plots, and pensionary spies,
As the inhabitants of Thames right side
Do Londons Major; or Germans, the Popes pride.[48]

Lawful or not, however, on 27 August 1619 in Prague Frederick was elected King of Bohemia.[49] On the following day in Frankfurt, Ferdinand was elected to the imperial throne. Writing on Doncaster's behalf, due to the temporary absence of Secretary Nethersole, Donne recounts to Sir Dudley Carleton, British Ambassador in The Hague, the news of Frederick's recent election and the Count Palatine's 'disposition to accept of that crown': 'It ys so generall a business that even so low and poore a man as I have a part in yt, and an office to do for yt, which ys to promove yt with the same prayers as I present for myne own soule to the ears of Allmighty God.'[50] Even given the fact that Carleton, the recipient of the letter, was a firm supporter of the international Protestant cause, Donne is careful here to refer only to his official duty as chaplain to pray for a successful outcome to the Bohemian succession. To indicate complaisance with Frederick's readiness to accept the crown would have been to court disaster; James had counselled delay, and Frederick, encouraged by influential advisors such as Christian of Anhalt, was on the verge of breaking his promise not to act until the King had come to a final decision.

At a more general level, however, Donne's suggestion of an affiliation between politics ('so generall a business') and religion ('promove yt with [...] prayers') is also present in his letter to Tobie Mathew, written from Cologne in September 1619. In this case, responding to the Catholic convert's offer of assistance to the embassy,

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[48] *Poems*, p. 81.

[49] Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, p. 176.

[50] Gosse, II, 133-34. Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 6. (31 August 1619, from Maastricht.) Nethersole returned to Britain in mid-July. He did not rejoin the embassy until it reached Arnhem in mid-December.

Donne allows that a man may be in error in his choice of religion yet still be moral and just: 'You know, we say in the Schools, that Grace destroys not Nature: we may say too, that forms of Religion destroy not moralitie, nor civill offices.' Donne also suggests that 'serious meditation of God', of whatever confession, is preferable to no meditation at all. Religious seriousness, therefore, offers at least 'some degree of an union' between confessions:

> it is true, That we are fallen into so slack and negligent times, that I have been sometimes glad to hear, that some of my friends have differed from me in Religion. It is some degree of an union to be united in a serious meditation of God, and to make any Religion the rule of our actions.[51]

Donne's preference for 'any Religion' rather than none at all is telling given recent work in Reformation historiography on the flexible nature of religious identity in the period.[52] For, as the Heidelberg sermon suggests, Donne's anti-polemical sentiments regarding 'forms of Religion' are thus compatible both with discretion in outward conformity and integrity in private conscience: 'To conclude [...] when the best Instrument, and the best song shall meet together, thy bell shall towl, and thy soul shall hear that voice'. [II, 268.][53]

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[51] *Tobie Mathew*, p. 337; Gosse, II, 136-37.

[52] The broad body of recent works focussed on the flexibility of different types of conformity within the early Stuart Church is extensive. Studies that I have found most useful include: Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (Allen & Unwin, 1988); Anthony Milton, *Catholic & Reformed: the Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Preaching, Religion & Politics in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[53] For a contrasting view that emphasises Donne's polemical, 'avant-garde conformity', see L. A. Ferrell, 'Donne and His Master's Voice, 1615-1625', *JDJ*, 11 (1992), 59-70; and Richard Strier, 'Donne and the Politics of Devotion', in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation*

Reading Donne's international sermons in their diplomatic contexts may also reveal further aspects of their careful balance between conformity and conscience. First, there is the question of the professional language of diplomacy. In studying letters from Doncaster's embassy in conjunction with Alberico Gentili's exposition on ambassadorial methods, a set of diplomatic rhetorical *topoi* or traits emerge; traits also present in Donne's sermons of 1619.[54] S. R. Gardiner writes of Doncaster's embassy letters, 'The ease of the perfect gentleman, the ready tact of the finished man of the world shine through every line.'[55] Given Donne's authorship of official embassy letters in Nethersole's absence, it is tempting to suggest that Donne may have given literary assistance to Doncaster throughout the duration of the embassy. If nothing else, the existence of Donne's embassy letter to Dudley Carleton gives the lie to Edmund Gosse's earlier view, that 'nothing was said, and certainly nothing appears to have been done, in the direction of secretarial work.'[56]

As previously noted, Doncaster's embassy correspondence pays close attention to questions of diplomatic protocol and the maintenance of the King's honour. In his 18 June letter from Heidelberg to Buckingham, for example, Doncaster evinces his belief that 'the parties are now lyk to come to bloues'. If the Bohemian party were to 'get the upper hand', Doncaster continues, then 'no part of the honor' can 'redound to his Ma^{tie} [...] without his Ma^{ties} appearinge either directly or indirectly in the Bohemians

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England, 1540-1688, ed. by Donna B. Hamilton and Richard Strier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 93-114.

[54] For discussion of the letter-writing duties of ambassadors, see M. Lee Jr, 'The Jacobean Diplomatic Service', *American Historical Review*, 72 (1967), p. 1267.

[55] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, p. xxxi.

[56] Gosse, II, 120.

favour'.[57] Alberico Gentili, in Book 3.19 of *De Legationibus*, echoes Doncaster's remarks, proposing that, 'The ambassador should assert the dignity of his embassy'.[58] Donne, in his role as chaplain to the Doncaster embassy, also comments on the duty of the preacher to be seen to justify his vocation: 'he must [...] vindicate and redeeme that calling from those aspersions and calumnies, which ill men have cast upon a good calling.' [II, 278.][59] In his sermon at Heidelberg, Donne presents the upholding of honour as the duty of each Christian soul: '*Magnificabit anima tua Dominum*, as the B. Virgin speaks, *Thy soul shall magnifie the Lord*'. [II, 262.][60]

A second rhetorical method common to both Doncaster's letters and Donne's sermons is the intentional use of ambiguity, or 'economy with the truth', where it may serve as a means to an end. In a letter to Naunton, for example, Doncaster reports that the Bohemian Deputies are desirous to know what 'secours of moneyes' they can expect from James. Doncaster, however, doubts whether any such financial aid will be forthcoming. This is an unwelcome truth which:

> I have found better to suppresse and conceale from them, because I feared they would not report it with such reasonable satisfaction to the Bohemians as I shall endeavor to doe upon the place. And in the meane time the knowledge thereof can doe no good, and may doe hurt, by diminishing his Ma[ties] authority, and so weakening my mediation.[61]

Whilst Gentili rejects such tricks of presentation in his ideal ambassador, he also acknowledges the contemporary reality: 'I know very well how much I depart from

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[57] Gosse, I, 120.

[58] Gentili, *De Legationibus, Libri Tres* (1594), trans. Gordon J. Laing (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1995), III, 186 (p. 211 of Latin original).

[59] From Donne's 'Fishers of Men' sermon, preached at The Hague in December 1619.

[60] Luke 1.46.

[61] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 137 (19 June 1619, from Heidelberg).

the current code, but I paint ambassadors not as they are, but as they ought to be.'[62] Donne, in his sermons during the Bohemian conflict, justifies the partial disclosure of knowledge on the basis of divine inscrutability: 'Thou art not the lesse the servant of God, nor the lesse rewarded by him, though he keepe from thee the knowledge of thy deliverance from any particular calamity.' [V, 282.][63] Moreover, Donne's warning against doctrinal schism offers a religious parallel to the expedient of political discretion:

> And then, the satisfaction in this fulnesse is not to hunt and pant after [...] the knowledge of such things, as God by his Scriptures hath not revealed to his Church, nor to wrangle contentiously and uncharitably about such points, as doe rather shake others consciences, then establish our own [V, 277-78].

A third aspect of Doncaster's diplomatic rhetoric relevant to Donne's sermons concerns the necessity, in negotiation, of presenting a balanced case. For in his 18 June letter to Buckingham, Doncaster urges that another emissary be sent to Frederick with 'sum gracious and promisinge message', even if only to bolster the Elector's political confidence. Such a move would then enable Doncaster to 'speak loud and *à chevall* to King Ferdinand'.[64] Without at least the appearance of two sides equally matched, there would thus be little incentive for the increasingly confident Austrians to agree to a mediated peace.

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[62] Gentili, *De Legationibus*, I, 197. However, in *De abusu mendaci* (Hanover, 1599), Gentili makes the contrary case for those *missi ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa*. Livy reminds the ambassador of the need for vigilance: 'Fraud makes a parade of honesty in little things in order that, when it is worth while, it may deceive with great profit.' (Cited in *De Legationibus*, III, 194.)

[63] Thought to have been preached at St Paul's in autumn 1622. For discussion of the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, V, 23-4.

[64] Gardiner, *Letters*, I, 121. From Heidelberg. '*À cheval*', literally, on horseback. In political usage, with a stake risked equally on two sides.

In Donne's Heidelberg sermon, to speak '*à chevall*' is to present a balanced exegetical case. Exhortation to belief is built on rational assent.[65] Donne's scriptural text is thus 'a forcible reason' [II, 251]; Christian laws and sacraments, compared to those of the Jews, are 'more attractive [...] more winning.' [II, 257.] Donne's threefold *divisio* is structured as a progression, leading from 'the outward means of salvation' [II, 252], to the 'inward means' [II, 260], and finally to 'the consummation' of both in the Last Judgement. [II, 265.] Legal terms delineate the steps to salvation. A man, by virtue of being born of 'Christian Parents', is given 'a title, an interest in the Covenant, which is *jus ad rem*'. Through the sacrament of baptism, the man is given 'a soul, a spiritual seal, *jus in re*, an actual possession of Grace'.[66] Yet salvation still depends upon subsequent grace, the 'blessed spirit, that must unite and confirm all'. [II, 262.] The relation between man and God is reciprocal, governed by a divine *lex primordialis*. In a contemporary sermon preached in 1619, William Pemberton, a minister at High Ongar in Essex, describes this relation in symmetrical terms, speaking of 'this *primordiall Law* [...] as an absolute and eternall rule and square, of piety to God, and equitie to man'.[67] Donne's depiction of the contractual nature of salvation thus echoes the quid pro quo of Doncaster's diplomatic intercession.

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[65] In a 1619 sermon preached on Micah 6.9 at Paul's Cross, Francis White refers to his sermon text as having 'the composure of a Syllogisme'. (*Londons Warning By Jerusalem* (1619), p. 3.)

[66] *Jus ad rem* is a claim, a demand; *jus in re*, possession of estate. (*The Learned Reading of Sir Francis Bacon upon the Statute of Uses* (1642), p. 322.)

[67] William Pemberton, *The Charge of God and the King, To Iudges and Magistrates, for execution of Iustice. In a sermon preached before Sr Henry Hobart Knight and Baronet, Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas: and Sr Robert Haughton Knight, one of the Iudges of the Kings Bench, At the Assises at Hartford. 1619* (1619), p. 3.

Both diplomatic speech and Donne's sermon *elocutio* also tailor theological, political or ethical principles to fit the case that is *sui generis*. In this regard, Gentili warns ambassadors to avoid what Plato in Book 10 of *The Republic* calls the 'failing of children', 'adhere[ing] to one course because we have begun it.'[68] Rather, Gentili observes, a diplomat should adapt his actions according to the turn of events, and 'as in a game of dice, be guided by the trend of fortune in [...] whatever way our reason indicates it to be best and most appropriate'.[69] Similarly, in his sermons preached in Heidelberg and in The Hague Donne moulds his sermon rhetoric to conform to the sensibilities of his Calvinist auditors. Yet Donne insists, not surprisingly, that political acuity in the pulpit should not shade into 'trimming', or religious hypocrisy. Referring to preachers, Donne observes that whilst, 'Princes oftentimes vary their Instructions from their Commissions, and to perplex their Ambassadours. God proceeded with [...] us directly'. In contrast to the 'perplexing' duty of the ambassador, the preacher's task is clear: to conform his auditory to God through the ordinances of the Church, both 'by the *Word* and *Sacraments*'.

> First, he sends us not as *Spies*, to lie, and learn, nor to learn and lie; but to deale apertly, manifestly, to publish, to preach; [...] It is a *Preaching*, a working by instructing and informing the understanding; it is a *Preaching*, a publique avowing of Gods Ordinance, in a right Calling. [IV, 229.]

This section has sought to demonstrate parallels between the eloquent accommodation of Donne's international sermons and the rhetorical tact of Doncaster's embassy letters. Such parallels reveal more clearly than has been observed hitherto a crux that lies at the sermons' heart: namely, the tension between Donne's duty as a preacher 'to deale apertly, manifestly', and his less well-defined

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[68] Cited by Gentili, *De Legationibus*, III, 196 (pp. 224-25 of Latin original).

[69] *Ibid.*

role as embassy chaplain. As the final section of this chapter aims to show – focussing on Donne's sermon in The Hague – this tension informs, in a variety of ways, the distinctively supple, undogmatic quality of Donne's religious and political conformity, and of his oratorical art.

'A *RES NODOSA*, A KNOTTY THING': PREACHING AT THE HAGUE

On 4 November, in Prague, the Elector Palatine had been officially crowned Frederick V of Bohemia. Hearing the news in Vienna, and doubting that anything further could come of his efforts at mediation, Doncaster turned for home. Passing through Nuremberg, Worms, and Heidelberg, Doncaster's party journeyed down the Rhine to Arnhem, arriving in The Hague on 16 December.[70] The sermon preached by Donne on Sunday 19 December is extant in expanded form as Sermons 71 and 72 in the *LXXX Sermons* folio. Both sermons bear the title: 'At the *Haghe* Decemb. 19. 1619. I Preached upon this Text. Since in my sicknesse at *Abrey-hatche* in Essex, 1630, revising my short notes of that Sermon, I digested them into these two.'[71]

The printed version of The Hague double sermon is, then, at least in part a product of Donne's 1630 revisions rather than of his earlier preaching in 1619. With no available manuscript text it is not possible to distinguish between those parts of the sermon that Donne revised and expanded, and the parts that he actually preached. Certainly, to address the Dutch States General in 1619 in The Hague (with memories still fresh of the repression of the Arminian Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort) was a

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[70] Bald, p. 364. Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown was described as a 'rash step' by the Spanish ambassador: '*faict un pas chaud*'. (Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 98-9.)

[71] *Sermons*, II, Nos 13 & 14. For the textual difficulties presented by these sermons, see *Sermons*, II, 38-39.

far cry from passing muster in print before Archbishop Laud and King Charles in 1630.[72] Whilst Donne's 1630 rumination on his 'short notes' demonstrates his responsiveness to changing political and religious circumstances, as a matter of procedure such revisions must be kept uppermost in mind in any discussion of Donne's preaching in The Hague in 1619.

Both parts of the expanded double sermon are expositions of Matthew 4.18-20: 'And Iesus walking by the sea of Galile saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea, (for they were fishers,) and he saith unto them, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men; and they straightway left their nets, and followed him.' In the first part of the double sermon, Donne focusses on a literal or historical interpretation of the 'persons' and 'function' of those 'whom Christ called here [...] *Peter* and *Andrew*'. [II, 270.] Donne's literal approach comprises a discussion of the nature and geography of the Sea of Galilee, the type of fishermen the two disciples were, and the differences between them and other apostles. In his second part Donne examines the nature of Christ's calling of his apostles – '*sequere me*' – and amplifies his theme in a lengthy exposition on the sin of pride.

Commentators on Donne's double Hague sermon have adopted a variety of critical approaches. Potter and Simpson, for example, focus chiefly on the literary qualities of the (1630) text, finding that the sermons 'lack [...] the creative brilliance with which he [Donne] often interprets Scripture.'[73] Gale Carrithers and James Hardy, by contrast, read Donne's 'Fishers of Men' sermon in terms of its 'devotional

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[72] For the differences in political and ecclesiastical climate between 1619 and 1630, see Carrithers and Hardy, '"Not upon a Lecture, but upon a Sermon"', pp. 352-53, n. 4.

[73] *Sermons*, II, 39.

dynamics' – the salvific journey from spiritual isolation to the *civitas dei*.[74] Adopting a more contextual approach, Paul Sellin concentrates on the religious and political circumstances in which Donne's sermon was preached. Thought to have been delivered from the pulpit of the Hofkapel, belonging to the French-speaking Walloon (Huguenot) synod, Sellin suggests that Donne's sermon may have been 'designed to complement, perhaps even augment' Doncaster's speech, or harangue, before the States General on the previous day.[75]

In his exordium Doncaster had encouraged the United Provinces to continue their assistance to the Palsgrave and the Protestant Churches in Bohemia, but had made no new offer of English support.[76] With his most recent instructions from James dating back to 23 September, there was little more that Doncaster could say. Needing, however, to maintain the best possible relations with potential Protestant allies such as the Dutch, Doncaster garnished what was an otherwise unappetising message with gracious compliments to his hosts. Thus the 'prevoyance' and 'sagesse' of his auditors was 'grande'; their 'apprehension' of Archduke Albert 'juste'.[77]

Donne's revised Hague sermon also shows signs of being attuned to its immediate political context, acknowledging the preacher's need to adapt his ministry to the present purpose. 'There is a fitnesse founded in Discretion; a Discretion to make our present service acceptable to our present Auditory'. [II, 276.][78] One aspect of proving

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[74] Carrithers and Hardy, '"Not upon a Lecture, but upon a Sermon"', pp. 335-59.

[75] Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, pp. 112, 109.

[76] See Doncaster's Proposition, 18 December 1619 (Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Staten Generaal, Inventaris no. 5887). Printed in Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion*, pp. 186-88.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[78] See *OED*, for the sense of 'discretion' as referring to discernment, judgement, and decorum. For discussion of discretion as 'primarily a religious term (the contrasting complement to 'passive

acceptable to his Dutch auditory of 1619 was to demonstrate conformity with infralapsarian Contra-Remonstrant doctrine and discipline. Regarding the essential role of grace in salvation, in contrast to a Pelagian emphasis on works, Donne observes that: 'The blessing is in Gods Calling, and Ordinance, not in the good parts of the man'. [II, 272.][79] In the second part of the double sermon, both the prevenient and successive aspects of calling, of grace, are elaborated in Augustinian terms; namely that spiritual renewal comes 'from the preventing grace of God, and the constant proceeding is from the concomitant, and subsequent, and continuall succeeding grace of God'. [II, 305.]

As well as demonstrating his broad conformity with Dutch Reformed doctrine, Donne's Hague exegesis also uses the historical example of Christ's calling of Andrew and Peter to decry religious scission. Christ's choice of *two* brothers who were strangers to him was not accidental, Donne explains. Rather, it was 'to avoid singularity, and two brethren to avoid Schisme, so he preferred two strangers before his own kindred, to avoid partiality'. [II, 281.] Donne's rejection of religious singularity and schism recalls the synodal proceedings at Dort.[80] For 'God loves not

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obedience')', see Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), p. 22. See also Shami, 'Donne on Discretion', *ELH*, 47.1 (1980), 48-66; and Marla Hoffman Lunderberg, 'John Donne's Strategies for Discreet Preaching', *SEL*, 44.1 (2004), 97-119.

[79] In conformity with the Belgic Confession, Article 23: *The Justification of Sinners*; the Heidelberg catechism, Question 67; the Canons of Dort, First Head of Doctrine, *Of Predestination*, Article 7; and the Thirty-Nine Articles, Article 11: *Of the Justification of Man*.

[80] The 'adhortation' of the British delegates, however, urging moderation and kindliness in drawing up the canons, was in contrast to the more repressive measures taken against the Remonstrant party. See *The Collegiat Suffrage of the Divines of Great Britaine, concerning the Five Articles Controverted in the Low Countries* (1629), pp. 171-77.

singularity; The very name of Church implies company; It is *Concio*, *Congregatio*, *Cœtus*; It is a Congregation, a Meeting, an assembly'. [II, 279.] In other sermons, the Protestant Churches were depicted by pro-Bohemian preachers (echoing Augustine's *City of God*) as a 'little City, and with few men withinit [*sic*]', besieged by 'the Prince of this world'.[81] The Synod of Dort's aim to achieve consensus in matters of fundamental doctrine is further reflected in Donne's avowal of the *ecclesia christiana*:

> Love thou those things wherein she is Catholique, and wherein she is harmonious, that is, *Quod ubique, quod semper*, Those universall, and fundamentall doctrines, which in all Christian ages, and in all Christian Churches have beene agreed by all to be necessary to salvation [II, 280].[82]

Donne's central theme of Christ's calling of 'fishers of men' might also have appealed to a Dutch Contra-Remonstrant congregation. Many of those likely to have been present – members of the States General such as Ploos, De Vooght, Schaffer, Santen, and Bruyningx – had been called half a year earlier to sit in judgement of van Olden Barnevelt.[83] Heavily criticised by Remonstrants for their actions, these men were likely to have welcomed Donne's exhortation for a man to 'labour in a lawfull Calling' [II, 279], and not to 'forbeare because it was a tempestuous Sea'. [II, 278.]

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[81] Michael Wigmore, *The Holy Citie. Sermon preached at York House before Francis Bacon* (1619), pp. 1, 5. Other influential London preachers associated with the pro-Bohemian party included: William Gouge, Rector of St Anne's, Blackfriars; Richard Sibbes, lecturer at Gray's Inn; and Thomas Taylor of St Mary's, Aldermanbury.

[82] Donne's emphasis on the fundamentals of Christian faith, regardless of confessional difference, is also evident in 'Satyre III': 'As women do in divers countries goe / In divers habits, yet are still one kinde; / So doth, so is Religion'. (*Poems*, p. 161.)

[83] J. G. Smit, ed., *Resolutien der Staten-Generaal: Nieuwe Reeks 1610-1670*, Vol. 3, 1617-1618 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1975), p. 555.

In the amplification of his theme, Donne goes so far as to imply that even Christ's actions were not without guile. For the calling of Andrew and Peter – 'such poor ignorant men' – serves a larger purpose. This was, that:

> when the world had considered [...] how unproper they were for such an employment, and yet seene that great worke so farre, and so fast advanced, by so weake instruments, they might ascribe all power to him [II, 273].

To be shrewd in matters of the world, to be realistic, therefore, is merely to recognise, as in Matthew 10.16,[84] that means are subordinate to ends – a recognition that in 1619 pervaded the swelling canon of diplomatic manuals and handbooks.[85] St Paul, too, had made clear the duties of the Christian for and in this world: 'Now then we are ambassadors for Christ' (II Corinthians 5.20). In addition, as Donne points out, St Augustine himself, 'does not say, *sua relinquere*, but *sua imperfecta relinquere*, [not] That God requires we should leave the world, but that we should leave it to second considerations'. [II, 284.]

This worldly correlation between means and ends is also present in the conventional tetrad of moral qualities thought to be requisite for seventeenth-century ambassadors – loyalty, bravery, temperance and prudence.[86] Alberico Gentili in *De Legationibus*, for example, finds prudence to be 'a shrewd analysis of the truth.'[87]

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[84] 'Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.'

[85] Three such books that had attained an European reputation by 1619 were: Jean Hotman de Villiers, *The Ambassador* (1603); Herman Kirchner, *Legatus* (Marburg, 1614); and Frederick van Marselaer, *KHPYKEION sive Legationum Insigne* (Antwerp, 1618).

[86] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 188. The latter three qualities are, of course, from the list of the four classical cardinal virtues. Tellingly, perhaps, in the case of the ideal qualities of an ambassador, loyalty is preferred to the fourth classical virtue, justice.

[87] Gentili, *De Legationibus*, III, 169.

Plato and Cicero, Gentili argues, provide pagan models for Christian moral virtue, defining prudence as 'the science of taking advantage of suitable times for action'.[88] In this light, Donne glosses the purpose of Christ's shrewd analysis as: 'that the worke should be ascribed to the Workman, not to the Instrument; To himselfe, not to them'. [II, 274.]

Donne's emphasis (albeit in 1630) on the 'weak instruments' of divine will might well have represented a response to pressing diplomatic concerns in December 1619. These concerns are spelled out in Sir Robert Naunton's 'dark letter' to Carleton and Doncaster, received on 16 December, three days before Donne's sermon in The Hague. In the letter Naunton warns the ambassadors, in their discussions with the Dutch, to adhere closely to the King's own declared position on Bohemia: 'For the only course to keep it from a warre of religion is his Majesties not appearing to misbrave it.'[89] Naunton's emphasis on the appearance of the King's actions is akin, in the homiletic realm, to Donne's notion of 'a fitnesse founded in Discretion'. Where Naunton speaks of Carleton and Doncaster 'framing' their 'discours' in the service of diplomacy, Donne speaks of '*Idoneos*, fit Ministers, that is fit for that service.' For just as 'God gave his children such Manna as was agreeable to every mans taste', Donne observes, 'so are wee to deliver the bread of life agreeable to every taste, to fit our Doctrine to the apprehension, and capacity, and digestion of the hearers.' [II, 276.] Similarly, Naunton advises that the British ambassadors should not cavil to be acceptable to their Dutch interlocutors, even going so far as to say that 'in case you shold be searched what his Majesties purpose is, your answer might be: *non liqueti.*'[90]

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[88] *Ibid.*, III, 172.

[89] Naunton to Carleton, Whitehall, 6 December 1619, NA SP 86/93.

[90] *Ibid. Liqueti*, from *liqueo, liqui*, to be clear, evident.

Both Donne's designation of 'fit Ministers' and Naunton's counsel to speak '*non liqueti*' endorse the political principle of the end justifying the means. Ironically, in 1619 such justifications also underpinned the conventional 'just war' arguments of English preachers such as Abraham Gibson who maintained that, 'No *warre* is held lawful, which hath not a speciall reference to *peace*.'[91]

The flexible diction and rhetorical patterning of Donne's *elocutio* in his revisions of the Hague sermon also reflects the non-dogmatic nature of his exegesis. For, on the one hand, Donne's Hague sermon is marked by the connective phrases characteristic of analytic discourse – 'and', 'for', 'but', 'therefore', 'yet', 'if'. On the other hand, however, Donne also draws on the affective Augustinian *animarum ædificatio* to achieve both spiritual and diplomatic ends. Such a combination of rhetorical means is evident in Donne's elaboration of the image of Christ's calling of fishermen in the revised first part of the Hague sermon. In a passage that combines Latinate ('inanimated'), Anglo-Saxon ('foame') and Anglo-Norman ('soupled') diction, Donne's arboriform sentence parallels nautical and spiritual imagery in what Ernest Renan called a *rime des pensées*. In such a way, Donne's 'quickning' rhythm breathes rhetorical life into the transformative action of the Holy Spirit:

> Therefore hee tooke them from their owne ship, but he sent them from his Crosse; He tooke them weatherbeaten with North and South winds, and rough-cast with foame, and mud; but he sent them back soupled, and smoothed, and levigated, quickned, and inanimated with that Spirit, which he had breathed into them from his owne bowels, his owne eternall bowels, from which the Holy Ghost proceeded; He tooke fisher-men, and he sent fishers of men. [II, 276.]

The revised second part of the Hague sermon also echoes this metaphor of divine moulding, elaborating the idea of coming 'to that conformity with my Saviour'. In this

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[91] *Christiana-Polemica, or A Preparative to Warre, shewing the lawfull use thereof. Preached at Wool-Church in London, Aprill 14, 1618* (1619), sigs $A2^{r-v}$.

case, conformity is imagined in its most literal, visceral aspect: 'as *Elisha* in raysing the *Shunamits* dead child, put his mouth upon the childs mouth, his eyes, and his hands, upon the hands, and eyes of the child'.[92] In like manner, Donne depicts the ductile nature of the human soul's relation to God, fashioned like clay to a Christian orthodoxy: 'Thus my afflictions are truly a crosse, when those afflictions doe truely crucifie me, and souple me, and mellow me, and knead me, and roll me out, to a conformity with Christ.' [II, 300.]

The nature of Donne's metonymic usage here is characteristically precise. For in his revised Hague sermon Donne's exegesis takes a typically self-reflexive interest in the rhetorical conventions of preaching. 'The way of Rhetorique in working upon weake men,' Donne observes, 'is [...] to shake that beliefe, with which it had possessed it self before', to 'melt' it, 'to powre it into new molds [...] to stamp and imprint new formes, new images, new opinions in it.' However, in the case of Christ's calling of the fishermen, Donne observes that:

> there was none of this fire, none of this practise, none of this battery of eloquence, none of this verball violence, onely a bare *Sequere me, Follow me*, and *they followed.* [II, 282.]

It is possible that Donne is alluding here, at least in part, to the type of unadorned preaching style acceptable to his Contra-Remonstrant Hague auditory.[93] For Constantijn Huygens, a young Dutch secretary in 1619, saw strong similarities between the pulpit deliveries of both Donne and the former Dutch Remonstrant leader Johannes Uytenbogaert. Both men, in Huygens's view, 'scorned artificial enticements,

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[92] II Kings 4.34.

[93] For discussion of the tendency towards 'baroque style' and 'chop-logic' in 'French' and 'English' preaching styles respectively, see Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, pp. 133-34.

which worked to the advantage of their style; the further they distantiated themselves from affectation, the greater the effect of their powers of persuasion.'[94]

In addition to the clarity of his delivery, Donne's *per verbum* method of exegesis also derives from his training in the law, in making careful semantic distinctions between legal arguments. Indeed, W. C. Richardson has suggested that 'precise analysis and accurate description' in the practise of common law were 'frequently more important than either reason or logic.'[95] In his 1619 Hague sermon, for example, Donne finds theological significance in the precise verbal form of the biblical imperative, '*Sequere me*'. For Christ does not say '*Vade retro, Get thee behind me*, see my face no more'; rather, Donne observes, Christ says, '*Sequere me, follow me*, he meanes to look back upon us'. [II, 297.]

Donne's concern with philology and law is also illustrated in his Hague sermon by his use of juridical analogy. In a passage likely to have pleased Dutch Contra-Remonstrants in 1619, as well as Archbishop Laud in 1630, Donne attacks those who 'argue perversely, frowardly, dangerously' for pulpit criticism of kings. Such arguments, Donne observes, require that preachers should emulate prophets: 'The Prophets would chide the Kings openly' and 'therefore the Minister may and must do so [too].' [II, 303.][96] But this, Donne argues, is a deduction made from a false premise, for the 'Extraordinary' office of the prophet is not equivalent to the

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[94] Constantijn Huygens, *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens door hemzelf beschreven*, trans. A. H. Kan (Rotterdam: Ad. Donker, 1946), p. 59. Huygens's poem about his early life, *De Vita Propria Sermones inter Liberos*, also enthusiastically recalls Donne: '*divine vir, optime Rhetor, / Prime Poetarum*'. (J. A. Worp, ed., *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* (Groningen, 1892-99), VIII, 205-9.)

[95] Richardson, *A History of the Inns of Court* (Claitors' Publishing Division, 1975), p. 147.

[96] See Jeremiah 1.10: 'Behold I have this day set thee over the Nations, and over the Kingdomes, to roote out, and to pull downe, to destroy and throw downe, and then to build, and to plant againe.'

'Ordinary' office of the minister. To illustrate his assertion Donne turns to an example drawn from law:

> (and no man will thinke that the Justices in their Sessions, or the Judges in their Circuits may proceed to executions, without due tryall by a course of Law, because Marshals, in time of rebellion and other necessities, may doe so, because the one hath but an ordinary, the other an extraordinary Commission) [II, 303-304].

In his dialectical use of analogy Donne's *elocutio* bears out Richardson's comment that: 'despite the fact that Ramus had argued for the separation of dialectic and rhetoric, the two were unalterably fused with the concept of formal reasoning in the minds of most lawyers.'[97] This fusion of logic and eloquence is also evident in Donne's exposition on pride in the second part of the Hague sermon. First, Donne draws attention to God's detestation of pride, as expressed in Psalm 101.5: '*Him that hath an high look, and a proud heart will not I suffer*'.[98] Donne then remarks that 'the Holy Ghost himselfe seems to be straitned, and in a difficulty, when he comes to expresse Gods proceedings with a proud man'. [II, 293.] It seems possible here that Donne's attention to the tentative, 'straitned' eloquence of the Holy Ghost, reflects a particular aspect of legal influence. This aspect is the continuing shift in the early seventeenth century from oral priority in legal proceedings, such as oral livery of *seisin*, to written priority, such as land deeds and statutes. For as cases in the period were increasingly decided from the court rolls, the notion took hold among lawyers 'that what really matters henceforth is not so much what they say (as under the old system), as what the clerks write on the roll.'[99] This necessarily led to tentative legal

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[97] Richardson, *A History of the Inns of Court*, p. 152.

[98] In identifying pride as a sin beyond divine compass, Donne catalogues the failings imputed to God by the Holy Ghost. See Deuteronomy 30.9, Genesis 39.21, Zechariah 1.15, Exodus 15.7, Job 10.17, Jeremiah 21.5, Proverbs 1.26.

[99] T. F. T. Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law*, 5th edn (Butterworth & Co, 1956), p. 403.

pleadings on the understanding that nothing would be written down until definite positions had been reached. 'The early Year Books are in consequence full of instance of counsel "licking their plea into shape" (as Maitland put it) in open court.'[100]

In the revised Hague sermon Donne's exposition on the sin of pride is also characterised by such aspects of legal pleading. In adopting the disruptive rhetorical scheme of *anacoluthon*, Donne 'licks his plea into shape' in a sustained imitation of 'straitned' scriptural eloquence:

> There is a considerable, a remarkable, indeed a singular manner of expressing it, (perchance you finde not the like in all the Bible) where God sayes, *Him that hath a high looke, and a proud heart, I will not*, (in our last) *I cannot*, (in our former translation) Not what? Not as it is in those translations, *I cannot suffer him, I will not suffer him*; for that word of *Suffering*, is but a voluntary word, supplied by the Translators; In the Originall, it is as it were an abrupt breaking off on Gods part, from the proud man, and, (if we may so speake) a kinde of froward departing from him. [II, 293.]

Donne's prose style stutters and is 'straitned' as he describes and imitates the grammatical strain, the 'abrupt breaking off' in what Donne refers to as the 'Originall' (the Septuagint) rendering of Psalm 101.5. However, it is through such tentative reasoning that the plea is shaped – that pride, being foreign to God, can have no part in the relation between God and man. Now that the matter is seen clearly, Donne's *elocutio* changes register, adopting the incantatory repetitions of *homœoteleuton*.[101] In the conclusion of the passage Donne states, as it were, his 'definite position', akin to the finalised plea in court delivered for the clerks to record on the rolls:

> God does not say of the proud man, I cannot worke upon him, I cannot mend him, I cannot pardon him, I cannot suffer him, I cannot stay with him, but meerly *I cannot*, and no more, I cannot tell what to say of him,

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[100] *Ibid.* J. H. Baker observes that early modern legal year books 'served primarily as guides to the science and technique of pleading.' (*The Legal Profession and the Common Law: Historical Essays* (Hambledon Press, 1986), p. 473.)

[101] *Homœoteleuton* - the repetition of the same word ending.

> what to doe for him; (*Him that hath a proud heart, I cannot*) Pride is so contrary to God, as that the proud man, and he can meet in nothing. [II, 293.]

In his revised Hague sermon, Donne also returns to a favourite emblem to illustrate the intricate nature of scriptural truth. This emblem is the figure of the knot, which in Donne's 'Metempsychosis' denotes 'Great Destiny the Commissary of God': 'Thou / Knot of all causes, thou whose changeless brow / Ne'r smiles nor frownes'.[102] As well as being an emblem of divine mystery, in Donne's poem 'The Extasie' the knot also represents that which is interwoven:

> As our blood labours to beget
> Spirits, as like soules it can,
> Because such fingers need to knit
> That subtile knot, which makes us man.[103]

In his 1619 Hague sermon, Donne's tripartite constitution of man recalls 'that subtile knot' of 'The Extasie':

> In the constitution and making of a natural man, the body is not the man, nor the soul is not the man, but the union of these two makes up the man; the spirits in a man which are the thin and active part of the blood, and so are of a kind of middle nature between soul and body, those spirits are able to doe, and they doe the office, to unite and apply the faculties of the soul to the organs of the body, and so there is a man [II, 261-62].

This figure of 'the knottie Trinitie' also occurs in Donne's Holy Sonnet XVI; the 'True-Loves Knot' is also a recurring image in early modern poetry and prose.[104] Of

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[102] *Poems*, p. 316.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 50. See G. Blakemore Evans, 'Donne's "Subtile Knot"', *N&Q*, n.s. 34.2 (June 1987), 228-30. For discussion of the 'knotty' quality of Donne's poetic thought, see Charles Mitchell, 'Donne's "The Extasie": Love's Sublime Knot', *SEL*, 8 (1968), 91-101; Dennis R. Klinck, 'John Donne's "Knottie Trinitie"', *Renascence*, 33 (1981), 240-55; and Lucio P. Ruotolo, 'The Trinitarian Framework of Donne's "Holy Sonnet XIV"', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 27.3 (Jul-Sep 1966), 445-46.

[104] Three diverse examples include, Donne's Holy Sonnet XIV, 'Batter my Heart'; Richard Brathwait, *A Strappado for the Diuell* [...] *(Loues Labyrinth: or the True-Louers knot)* (1615); Thomas Scott,

particular relevance to Donne's exegetical method is the knot's depiction of plurality-in-unity. As with the co-dependent persons of the Trinity, the knot *visibly* conjoins component strands, without eliding their differences. In the exegeses of Donne's sermons, therefore, preached during the early years of the Thirty Years' War, the knot may stand as an emblem of the paradoxical, conjunctive aspects of legal dialectic, theological speculation, rhetorical *controversia*, and even Scripture itself. For, as Donne observes at the conclusion of the Hague sermon:

> A net is a *Res nodosa*, a knotty thing; and so is the Scripture, full of knots, of scruple, and perplexity, and anxiety, and vexation, if thou wilt goe about to entangle they selfe in those things, which appertaine not to thy salvation [II, 308].

Donne's emphasis on fundamental doctrine rather than on debated points of 'perplexity' echoes Montaigne: 'Is it not better to remaine in suspence, then to entangle [oneself] in so many errours, that human fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion, than to meddle with these sedicious and quarellous devisions?'[105] In demonstrating Donne's exhortation to transcend 'sedicious and quarrellous divisions' in his 1619 sermons in Heidelberg and The Hague this chapter has attempted to show Donne's use of a number of traits of diplomatic strategy and speech: namely, tolerance of ambiguity in matters of dispute; emphasis of common religious and political ground; ready adjustment to the changing needs of time, place, and auditory; and the mediator's presentation of a balanced case.

In the following chapter, the nature of Donne's rhetorical logic is explored in the context of his Lincoln's Inn sermons of 1620 delivered to an auditory of lawyers and

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Symmachia; or, a true-loves knot tyed betwixt Great Britaine, and the United Provinces, by the wisedome of King James, and the States Generall (Utrecht, 1624).

[105] 'An Apologie for Raymond Sebond', in *Essayes Written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, trans. John Florio (1613), pp. 242-341 (p. 281).

students of law (following his return from the continent), and in his Whitehall sermons of the same year preached to courtiers. This exploration, in turn, is set against the course of international events leading to the Bohemian defeat at White Mountain in September 1620. In the light of such events, my aim is to suggest ways, not previously recognised, in which the complementary strands of English common law, Roman civil law, and canon law each contribute to the juridical inflection of Donne's sermon *elocutio* in this period.

3. Defeat at White Mountain: Juridical Influence in Donne's Sermons

'TO RECONCILE SOME SUCH PLACES OF SCRIPTURE': DONNE AT LINCOLN'S INN

Upon his return from the continent at the end of 1619, 'with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved', Donne resumed preaching at Lincoln's Inn.[1] However, the failure of Doncaster's embassy to broker a peaceful settlement regarding the Bohemian succession, and Spanish claims of Doncaster's partiality to the Palsgrave's cause, had displeased King James. As a consequence, Frederick's ambassador to England, Baron Achatius von Dohna, received short shrift from the king at Theobalds in January 1620, and outspoken clerics such as Thomas Scott were censured for preaching on the Bohemian crisis and for 'spreading of scandalous pamfletts.'[2] Not surprisingly, therefore, Donne's first two extant sermons for the 1620 Hilary Term, delivered in the morning and evening of 30 January, do not appear, at first sight, to touch on the proscribed topic of foreign affairs. Rather, the sermons take the form of a law exercise, the complementary texts chosen so as to 'reconcile some such places of Scripture, as may at first sight seem to differ from one another'. [II, 325.] In the morning, Donne preached on John 5.22, 'The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Sonne'; in the evening he examined Christ's words in John 8.15, 'I judge no man.' As Potter and Simpson observe, Donne's resolution of these apparently contradictory texts clearly interested his hearers for the

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[1] Walton, *Lives*, p. 46; Bald, p. 366.

[2] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 336.

two sermons were transcribed together at least four times in the 1620s, as well as being printed later in *Six Sermons* (1634) and *Fifty Sermons* (1649).[3]

Certainly, Donne's theme of divine judgement seems likely to have appealed to an audience of lawyers.[4] Furthermore, the dialectical form of these sermons – of making 'our texts answer one another' [III, 133] – appears to be consciously directed at an auditory schooled in legal argumentation. This is not to say, however, that here the chief function of Donne's exegesis is juridical. Rather, as always, it is to edify, for as Donne reminds his hearers, 'we are not upon a Lecture, but upon a Sermon'. [II, 320.]

In seeking in his sermons of 1620 to induce in his congregation spiritual and moral reform, Augustine's theory of Christian eloquence in Book IV of *De Doctrina Christiana* is crucial to Donne's conception of pulpit oratory.[5] Drawn from his study of Pauline rhetoric, Augustine's categories of plain, moderate, and grand style each find expression in the registers of Donne's prose. Humanist interpretations of classical rhetorical and dialectical traditions, derived in large measure from the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, are also key ingredients in the fusion of logical argument and affective persuasion found in

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[3] *Sermons*, II, 41. Transcriptions can be found in the *Merton*, *Dowden*, *Lothian* and *Ellesmere* manuscripts (see Appendix II below: Bibliography of the Sermons). For discussion of the *variæ lectiones* in *Six Sermons* and *Fifty Sermons*, see *Sermons*, I, 24.

[4] The members of the Lincoln's Inn congregation are described as being 'all men of education, and all members, present or future, of the legal profession.' (Bald, pp. 320-21.)

[5] For the Augustinian character of Donne's oratory, see M. A. Papazian, 'The Augustinian Donne: How a 'Second S. Augustine'?' in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, pp. 66-89; John S. Chamberlin, *Increase and Multiply: Arts-of-Discourse Procedure in the Preaching of Donne* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 118-19; Robert L. Hickey, 'Donne's Art of Preaching', *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 1 (1956), 32-70 (p. 68).

Donne's sermons.[6] However, whilst bearing in mind his general formal rhetorical training as a preacher, I aim in this chapter to examine the juridical mien of Donne's scriptural explication.[7] How might Donne's knowledge of the terminology, principles, and techniques of civil and common law have informed the preaching of his sermons during the Bohemia-Palatinate conflict? For in those sermons, as Donne puts it himself: 'preaching in the *Church* comes to bee as pleading at the Barre'. [IV, 197.]

The nature of Donne's legal education is a matter of record. As a Bachelor of Arts at Oxford's Hart Hall (1584-87) Donne would first have come to terms with the normative juridical principles of civil law, including the concepts of natural law and equity, in the *rhetorica controversia* of University disputations.[8] Later Donne also became versed in the practical arts of common law pleading, learned in the readings, moots, and bolts of Thavies Inn and Lincoln's Inn (1591-94).[9] As secretary to the Lord Keeper Sir Thomas Egerton, Donne conducted legal research, investigating fees charged by officers of the Chancery, Privy Council, and Star Chamber.[10] In the

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[6] For Donne's debt to a humanist tradition of *controversia*, reaching back through Erasmus to Cicero, see Thomas O. Sloane, *Donne, Milton and the End of Humanist Rhetoric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), esp. p. 203.

[7] The etymology of 'juridical' demonstrates the link between law and rhetoric - from the Latin *juridicus*, from *jur-*, *jus* law + *dicere* to say.

[8] Also, possibly as a student at Cambridge (1587-89). See Bald, pp. 46-8. For discussion of the study of civil law within the Oxford faculty of arts curriculum of 1584, see James McConica, 'Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by T. H. Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), II, 702.

[9] I. A. Shapiro, 'John Donne and Lincoln's Inn, 1591-1594', *TLS* (16, 23 Oct 1930), pp. 833, 861.

[10] In the years 1597-1602. See Louis A. Knafla, 'Mr Secretary Donne: The Years with Sir Thomas Egerton', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, pp. 37-72 (p. 53).

Parliaments of 1601 and 1614 Donne himself acted as legislator,[11] also contributing legal opinions on demand, such as that on Valdesius's *De Dignitate Regum Regnorumque Hispaniæ* prepared for Sir Robert Cotton in 1603-1604.[12] As Donne's learning in civil, canon, and common law increased, he is thought to have assisted the Dean of Gloucester, Thomas Morton, in works of theological controversy (1606-1607) against the Jesuits Robert Persons and Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. Later, the fruits of this knowledge would be put to use in the contra-Jesuit legal arguments of *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave.*[13]

Donne's poetry also contains much evidence of his interest and participation in a broad legal culture. Censure of law practitioners can be found in 'Satyre II' and 'Satyre V', and metaphorical use of testamentary and property law are self-evident in the titles of 'The Will', 'The Legacy', and the epigram 'Disinherited'. In addition, Donne's fascination with the relation between the laws of God and man informs the topoi of 'Holy Sonnet VI' and 'XVI', 'The Second Anniversary' (1612), and the prose work *Essays in Divinity* (1614). In his sermons, aspects of English common law around which Donne builds exegeses include wills and testaments, intestability, and

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[11] He sat on four select committees. In 1601, Donne was Member for Brackley, Northants, and in the 'Addled' Parliament of 1614 he sat for Taunton. See Annabel Patterson, 'John Donne, Kingsman?' in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 268-71.

[12] BL MS Cotton Cleop. F. vii. (Bald, p. 142.)

[13] Johann P. Sommerville, 'John Donne the Controversialist: The Poet as Political Thinker', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, pp. 73-95.

the law of half-blood.[14] Two Donne sermons refer to the English law of courtesy, which relates in turn to rulings on property and inheritance such as the law of gavel-kind.[15] In other sermons Donne cites the Roman laws *jus postliminii* and *dolus*.[16]

It is no surprise, therefore, that the importance of Donne's legal education to his writing has long been recognised. Richard Corbet, for instance, in his 1632 elegy maintained that anyone who would write a fit epitaph for Donne: 'must have learning plenty; both the Lawes, / Civill, and Common, to judge any cause'.[17] George Potter and Evelyn Simpson note Donne's long association with Lincoln's Inn and his frequent use of legal terms, including mention of a '*non obstante* in God's dealings with men, or of a *certiorari* or a writ of *præmunire*.'[18] As has been previously remarked, more recent studies have demonstrated the significance of Roman Catholic and Protestant casuistry to Donne's adjudication of conflicting moral claims in his poetry and prose; whilst others have attended to Donne's engagement with the

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[14] A law prohibiting one half-brother being heir to another. See John Rastell, *Les termes de la ley: or, Certaine difficult and obscure Words and Termes of the Common Lawes of the Realme expounded* (1624), p. 152.

[15] *Sermons*, III, 114; V, 168. Gavel-kind - a Kentish law whereby the lands of the father are divided equally among the sons at death, leading to the gradual disintegration of estates. See John Cowell, *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (Cambridge, 1607), sigs Kk1^{v}-Kk2^{r}.

[16] *Sermons*, I, 151; VII, 127. *Dolus* – a civil law concerning malicious fraud. See *Corpus Juris Civilis*, 4 vols (Frankfurt, 1587), I, *Digesta*, IV, 3, 1. *Jus postliminii* - the right to claim property after recapture. (*Corpus Juris Civilis*, II, Codex, 8, 50.)

[17] Richard Corbet, 'On Doctor *Donne*, by D^{r} C. B. of O.', lines 7-8, in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson, I, 374.

[18] *Sermons*, IV, 17-8.

concept and rhetoric of law.[19] What, then, might be said of Donne's recourse to legal thought and language in sermons preached during the Bohemia-Palatinate crisis?

Donne's pair of sermons delivered at Lincoln's Inn on 30 January 1620, on the theme of divine judgement, provides a useful case study in this regard. In his morning sermon Donne sets out to explain the delegation of divine judgement: 'The Father [...] hath committed all judgement to the Sonne.' First, Donne illustrates Christ's co-equal relation with the Father in the Trinity using the metaphor of a pearl, 'a body of many shels [*sic*], many crusts, many films [...] enwrapped upon one another'. According to this 'enwrapped' relation, the first and second persons of the Trinity are conceived of as co-authors in the action of divine judgement: '*What things soever the Father doth, those also doth the Son likewise.*' [II, 311.] Donne's sermon *divisio* then splits the text into three branches. In the first, Donne attends to the notion 'that Judgment belongs properly to God'. [II, 312.] For, 'No attribute of God is so often iterated in the Scriptures [...] as this of Judge, and Judgment, no word concerning God so often repeated'. [II, 313.] Donne elaborates on God's role as judge via a sustained contrast between divine and human judgement: 'Judges of the world [...] die like men, weakely, and they fall', but the 'Lord dyes not, nor he falls not'. [II, 313-14.] Furthermore, God 'hath *Judicium detestationis*', a perfect knowledge and hatred of evil, whereas 'we are so blind in the knowledge of evill, that we needed that great supplement, and assistance of the law it self to make us know what was evill'. [II, 314.]

By reminding his Lincoln's Inn auditory of their limitations, professional and moral, Donne's contrast between human and divine judgement serves the edifying purpose of his sermon. In late January 1620, however, Donne's claim that human

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[19] See Introduction above, p. 16.

judges, unlike God, are prey to the distorting influence of 'private interests, and private respects' [II, 315] may also have suggested a more topical application. For now, just one month after Donne's return from Germany, the legal principle of judicial impartiality had come to lie at the heart of the conflict over the Bohemian succession. Basing their case on the Augsburg Diet of 1548 Bohemian advocates argued in a series of pamphlets in 1620 that Ferdinand II, as emperor, was ineligible to arbitrate in a case which involved his own private interests: namely, as Archduke of Austria, claimant to the Bohemian crown.

> And if his Imperiall Maiestie would needes herein supply the office of a Iudge as Roman Emperour and liege Lord, then must he necessarily take upon him two seuerall and distinct persons, and set the one upon the imperiall Tribunall, and make the other as Archduke of Austria.[20]

Echoes of the Bohemian argument can be heard in Donne's 30 January sermons on divine judgement. For example, in Donne's evaluation of the limited nature of man-made law, disputes over territorial jurisdictions are deemed to impede the universal administration of justice: 'Here you are fain to supply defects of laws, that things done in one County [*sic*] may be tryed in another'. [II, 315.][21] Furthermore, in contrast to divine judgement, Donne shows that human jurists cannot be other than partisan:

> for some things are sinne to one nation, which are not to another, as where the just authority of the lawfull Magistrate, changes the nature of the thing, and makes a thing naturally indifferent, necessary to them, who are under his obedience [II, 314-15].

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[20] *An Answere to the Question, whether the Emperour that now is can bee Judge in the Bohemian Controversie or no?* [Translated from the German.] (?Prague, 1620), sig. A4^{v}.

[21] Potter and Simpson here follow the reading in *Fifty Sermons* of 'one County'. I suggest, however, that the earlier reading in *Six Sermons* of 'our Countrey' may equally apply given that Donne subsequently speaks of 'transmarine offences'. [II, 315.]

That Donne was familiar with Bohemian complaints over legal jurisdiction and judicial conflict of interest is likely given his involvement in the diplomatic efforts of the Doncaster embassy. Donne's detailed grasp of the question of Ferdinand's eligibility to judge in his own cause is also suggested by a marginal reference in *Biathanatos* to this area of law in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*: 'The *Emperiall* Lawes forbid, in a Generality, any to be Iudge in his owne Cause.'[22] At the same time, however, as Donne almost certainly knew, such laws concerning judgement also provided for the emperor's prerogative: 'but all expositors, except [exempt] Soueraignes.'[23]

Thus, in Donne's sermon the controversial issue of royal or imperial prerogative suggests a blurring of the distinction between divine and human forms of judgement.[24] Indeed, Donne himself draws the parallel, rather than contrast, between the legal functions of God's '*Judicium electionis*', his 'eternall decree', and the 'Kings mercy expressed in a sealed pardon'. [II, 323.] The question of the sovereign's role in the course of English law was also a matter of current concern in late January 1620. For just two days before Donne's sermon, the disgraced Secretary of State Sir Thomas Lake had appeared in the Star Chamber to publicly acknowledge his slanders (and those of his daughter, Lady Roos) against Frances Cecil, Countess of Exeter in the previous year.[25] As John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton, the King, acting as

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[22] *Corpus Juris Civilis*, II, Codex, 3, 5. Cited in *Biathanatos*, ed. by E. W. Sullivan, II, p. 81.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Early seventeenth-century interpretations of the statutes of *Prærogativa Regis* in English common law, or *Jus regalium* in civil law, were marked by disagreement. (Cowell, *The Interpreter*, sigs Ddd3^{r}-Eee1^{r}.)

[25] Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, 2 vols (1839), I, 192-98. See also BL MS Birch 4176: letter from Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, 16 February 1620.

judge in the case, 'made a short speach the first day in which among other thinges he compared himself to Salomon that was to judge between two women [Lady Roos and the Countess of Exeter] [...] to find out the true mother of the childe, (that is veritie)'.[26]

To members of the Society of Lincoln's Inn with puritan leanings, such as Sir Randolph Crew, William Hakewill, or Sir Henry Hobart,[27] Star Chamber judgements were perceived as an unwelcome aspect of absolute monarchical jurisdiction.[28] In the immediate aftermath of Lake's Star Chamber appearance, therefore, Donne's comments regarding the limitations and private interests of human judges, even royal ones, take on a more pointed tone.[29] For whilst divine *Judicium discretionis* 'hovered like a Falcon over Paradise', Donne observes that 'Earthly Judges have their distinctions, and so their restrictions; [...] Some things they cannot take knowledge

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[26] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 211, 214. See also Louis Knafla, 'Britain's Solomon: King James and the Law', in *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I*, ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), pp. 235-64.

[27] Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (Harlow: Longman, 1972), p. 204. Lincoln's Inn's reputation for being inclined at least in part to puritanism is borne out by the fact that Donne was preceded as Reader by Thomas Gataker and succeeded by John Preston, both Jacobean conformists closer to the anti-Catholic, sermon-centred piety of George Abbot than to the sacramental Arminianism of Lancelot Andrews or Richard Neile.

[28] See Paul Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 14-17.

[29] In a 1609 accession sermon, Richard Crakanthorpe drew extensive analogies between James and the peaceful, wise and Temple-building Solomon. *A Sermon Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of Our Most Gracious and Religious Soveraigne King James* (1609), sigs $B4^{r-v}$. John Andrewes also casts James in the role of Solomon in *The Brazen Serpent: or, the copie of a Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, December 31, 1620* (1621), sig. $A1^{r}$.

of, for they are bound to evidence'. [II, 316.] Here, Donne's common law orthodoxy regarding the judge bound to evidence echoes the opinion of Sir Edward Coke (who was known for defending against royal absolutism) on the same matter: 'they being Judges of record, ought only to see with judicial eyes, and to take knowledge of no more than doth appear to them within the record'.[30]

Via the use of legal metaphor, therefore, Donne braids together the spiritual, moral, and political applications of his text. This can be seen further in Donne's resolution of a second scriptural impasse. For how, Donne asks, if the Father is '*Fons Deitatis*, the root and spring of the whole Deity', can it also be written that the 'Father judgeth no man?' [II, 318.] Once again, Donne turns for his solution to an Augustinian notion of co-equality: 'The hypostaticall union of God and man in the person of Christ'. [II, 321.] In conformity with Article 2 of the Thirty-Nine Articles ('Of the Word of God, which was made very Man'), Donne asserts the 'unseparable union betwixt God and the humane nature' in the person of Christ, the Son of man, and reasons that 'God hath been so indulgent to man, as that there should be no judgement given upon man, but man should give it.' [II, 322.][31]

Whereas previously Donne had used the concept of legal jurisdiction in human affairs to illustrate the unbounded nature of divine judgement, here the situation is

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[30] *The reports of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. in English, in thirteen parts complete*, 7 vols (1777), III, Pt 5, v. Donne expresses the same sentiment in a 1626 Christmas Day sermon at St Paul's: 'a Judge is another man, upon the bench, then he is at home, in his owne house.' [VII, 294.]

[31] Preaching on the same text, John 5.22, in 1622, Thomas Ailesbury provides a useful summary of the trinitarian concept of hypostasis: 'In the Father, and the Son there is *alius*, & *alius*, not *aliud*, and *aliud*, a personall difference, but a naturall unity: In Christ there is *aliud*, and *aliud*, not *alius*, and *alius*, a naturall distinction, but a personall union.' (*A Sermon Preached at Paules-Crosse 2nd June, being the last Sunday in Easter Terme 1622* (1623), p. 14.)

reversed. For now a theological idea (hypostasis) offers a model for a legal relation (between a sovereign and his subjects). That Donne's Lincoln's Inn auditory in 1620 would have been attuned to the analogy between divinity and royalty seems likely from the extensive use of this rhetorical formula in the period.[32] Thus Donne's presentation of the communal unity of God and man in the 'mixt person' of Christ may have suggested, albeit indirectly, a moderated version of the type of Jacobean absolutism proposed in *Basilikon Doron* (1603). At the very least, at a time of religious and political crisis related to events in Europe Donne's emphasis on God's promissory covenant with man, embodied in Christ's dual nature, seems to hint at the importance of legal constraints on the principle of *quod principi placuit*. For, as Donne observes:

> The *Law* is the mutuall, the reciprocall Suretie betweene the *State* and the *Subject*. The *Lawe* is my *Suretie* to the *State*, that I shall pay my Obedience, And the *Lawe* is the States *Suretie* to mee, that I shall enjoy my Protection. [VI, 253.][33]

Even at first glance, therefore, Donne's use of legal metaphor in his scriptural exegesis appears to constitute something more than mere 'law-court imagery.'[34] Contract law terms suggest God's salvific pact with man in Christ. Issues of divine jurisdiction and judicial impartiality impinge on contemporary questions of the Bohemian succession and royal prerogative. Furthermore, traditions of legal interpretation and biblical commentary fuse in the flexible nature of Donne's exegeses.

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[32] David Nicholls, 'Divine Analogy: The Theological Politics of John Donne', *Political Studies*, 32 (1984), 570-80.

[33] Sermon preached on Easter Day 1625 at St Paul's.

[34] *Sermons*, IV, 18.

This interpretative suppleness is particularly evident in Donne's use of the dual nature of Christ 'to connexe both Texts'. [II, 333.] For in the morning sermon, as we have seen, Donne interprets the Father's divestment of judgement to the Son by emphasising Christ's *mortal* nature. In the evening, however, Donne focusses on Christ's *divine* nature, suggesting that the words, 'I judge no man', are not '*De tempore*, but *De modo*, there was never any time when Christ was not Judge, but there were some manner of Judgements which Christ did never exercise'. Donne summarises those judgements, '*In secularibus*', as: '1. Christ usurps upon no mans Jurisdiction [...] 2. Christ imputes no false things to any man [...] 3. Christ induces no man to desperation'. [II, 326.]

Two of these classes of secular judgement suggest at least oblique allusion to events in the contemporary public sphere. In the first, Donne censures Christ's 'pretended Vicar', the pope, for claiming to hold supreme authority over the spiritual and temporal affairs of all Christians. Donne's exhortation to his hearers to 'intrude not upon the right of other men' [II, 334] may also, however, have called to mind the legal arguments over rights to the Bohemian crown. Furthermore, in Donne's warning against calumny it is hard not to hear echoes of events such as the Star Chamber trial for slander of Sir Thomas Lake, or allegations of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar's barely concealed contempt for the mediating efforts of the Doncaster embassy.[35] Donne's use of law in his Lincoln's Inn sermons thus appears to go some way beyond a simple appeal to his auditory's professional interests. As the basis for discreet topical allusion, law terms and ideas comprise another facet of the occasional nature of Donne's preaching. In the next section, Donne's engagement with the

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[35] See Gardiner, *Letters*, I, pp. xxx, 27.

language, procedures, and principles of law will be examined in his role as preacher at court in the spring of 1620.

DONNE'S SERMONS AT COURT: PREACHER AS PROPHET

As chaplain-in-ordinary to the King Donne was required to preach once each year before the court on the first Friday in Lent, and twice or three times in April, the month of his attendance as a royal chaplain.[36] Over the fifteen years of his ordained ministry, Donne delivered a total of thirty-six court sermons in an almost unbroken routine pattern of attendance. Even in 1630, when close to death, Donne insisted on keeping 'my Lent Sermon, except my Lord Chamberlaine beleeve me to be dead, and leave me out; for as long as I live, and am not speechlesse, I would not decline that service.'[37]

However, the privilege of preaching in the Chapel Royal was not without peril. The Court of High Commission, for example, cited the case of John Vicars, charged for preaching 'that it was lawfull for a minister to preach soe particularly that his auditors might knowe what and whome he meant, but yet to do it so covertly that noe legall advantage might be taken against him.'[38] In his Whitehall sermon on the first Friday in Lent 1620 Donne's *inventio* is unusually frank in considering the duties and dangers of preaching at court. Taking as his text Amos 5.18, Donne recalls how

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[36] Peter McCullough, 'Donne as Preacher at Court: "Precarious Inthronization"', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colcough, pp. 179-204 (p. 182).

[37] Donne to Mr George Garrard, ?December 1630, in *John Donne: Selected Prose*, ed. by Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 170.

[38] S. R. Gardiner, ed., *Reports of Cases in the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission* (Camden Society, 1886), p. 199.

Amasias, the Priest of Bethel, informed the king, Jeroboam II of Judah: '*that Amos medled with matters of State, and that the Land was not able to beare his words*'. Furthermore, Amasias ordered Amos to '*prophecy here no more, for this is the Kings Chappell, and the Kings Court*'. In preaching to his Whitehall auditory in March 1620 Donne questions the wisdom of 'extending and applying' Amos's prophecies of woe to the present time. For as a result of the Elizabethan and Jacobean practice of 'tuning' the pulpit for political ends,[39] there were many, observed Donne, who 'thinke scornefully [...] that as the Church is within the State, so preaching is a part of State government, flexible to the present occasions of time, appliable to the present dispositions of men'. [II, 348.]

Potter and Simpson, noting the self-consciousness of Donne's 3 March exordium, viewed this sermon as 'highly personal'.[40] Recent studies, however, have tended to focus on the politics of Donne's oration,[41] especially given that in March 1620 James had instructed clergy not to represent the continental conflict 'as one of religion, which would stir up all Europe'.[42] Francis Nethersole, for example, wrote of a 'Bishop Bayly' who had offered public prayers for Frederick at Paul's Cross, and 'hath beene rebuked for his forwardnes'.[43] Care, however, is required in precise historical contextualisation, particularly in placing Donne's court sermons in their

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[39] Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1671), p. 153.

[40] *Sermons*, II, 45-46.

[41] Cf. Sellin, *So Doth, So is Religion*, p. 168; Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis*, p. 89; and Lunderberg, 'John Donne's Strategies for Discreet Preaching', pp. 107-11. For wider discussion of the politics of Donne's court sermons, see Shami, '"Kings and Desperate Men": John Donne Preaches at Court', *JDJ*, 6 (1987), 9-23.

[42] NA SP 14/113/33-44.

[43] Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 133; SP 112/10. (Nethersole to Dudley Carleton, 8 January 1620.)

preaching occasions. For due to Donne's heavy annual workload of study and composition, from Christmas to Whitsunday, initial preparation for his March and April court sermons may well have occurred some months in advance.[44] For as Donne explained about an April 1627 court sermon: 'it was put into that very order, in which I delivered it, more than two moneths [*sic*] since'.[45] In 1620, however, given that Donne was engaged with Doncaster's embassy until the end of the previous year, it seems likely that his 3 March court sermon was composed not long before its date of delivery.

A number of legal characteristics mark Donne's exegesis in this sermon, preached at a time of rising popular agitation concerning events in Germany, and a corresponding increase in royal censorship of the pulpit. First, Donne adopts the advocate's working assumption of an unsympathetic audience, forestalling hostile interpretation:[46] 'we finde no *Amasiah* no mis-interpreting Priest here, (wee are farre from that, because we are far from having a *Ieroboam* to our King as he had, easie to give eare, easie to give credit to false informations)'. [II, 348.] Taken at face value, Donne's parenthetical remarks appear to commend James, 'our King', for his lack of credulity. However, by March 1620 James's apparent willingness to give credit to Spanish misinformation had become a growing source of frustration in the court and beyond. In a tone of bitter irony, Francis Nethersole, in a letter to Dudley Carleton, refers to 'the inscrutable depths of his Ma^{tys} incomparable wisedome, to amuse his sonnes enemyes'. Furthermore, as Nethersole reports, Spanish agents had sought to turn the King against Doncaster by accusing him of ambassadorial bias; as a

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[44]McCullough, 'Donne as Preacher at Court', p. 182.

[45] Donne to Sir Robert Ker, April 1627, in *John Donne: Selected Prose*, ed. by E. M. Simpson, p. 160.

[46] See David Crystal and Derek Davy, *Investigating English Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), p. 193.

consequence of which, 'to be zealous in the cause of Bohemia, or to be only thought to be so, is now fault inough in their opinions which governe all, as I have seene by My Lord his experience.'[47]

Viewed in this light, Donne's assertion that James was not 'easie to give eare' comes to seem less straightforward than at first might appear. This is especially so given Donne's continuing close association with both Nethersole and Doncaster in early 1620. For on 12 February Donne had preached at Nethersole's wedding to Lucy Goodere, the daughter of his old friend. Later that summer he would join Doncaster in his 'train, into the Countrie'.[48] Nevertheless, as Donne acknowledges, to be privately aggrieved is one thing, to speak out publicly another. The court preacher's awareness of his august surroundings is liable to deter more forthright speech:

> every man that comes with Gods Message hither, brings a little *Amasiah* of his owne, in his owne bosome, a little wisperer in his owne heart, that tels him, *This is the Kings Chappell, and it is the Kings Court*, and these woes and judgements, and the denouncers and proclaimers of them are not so acceptable here. [II, 348-49.]

Despite the cautious 'wisperer' in his heart, however, Donne's choice of a text from Amos is suggestive in itself of his exegetical intentions. For in the early 1620s, clergymen as various as Edward Chaloner, John Hacket, and Henry King all chose to preach on Amos in order to denounce court censorship and deceit.[49] Henry King, Donne's friend and literary executor, condemned those who 'steepe their words in oyle, sooth and flatter', and who banish the words of judgement 'from our ears as

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[47] Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 133-34. 'My Lord' refers to Doncaster.

[48] See *Sermons*, II, 335-47; and for Nethersole's marriage, *ODNB*, 40, 443. For Donne joining Doncaster in the country, see *Letters*, p. 202; Gosse, II, 138-39.

[49] Chaloner, *Naioth or The Vniversity Charter* (1622); Hacket, *A Century of Sermons* (1675), pp. 742-51; King, *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse touching the supposed Apostasie of John King* (1621).

Amaziah did the words of *Amos*, when he foretold [...] Israels captiuitie'.[50] Thomas Gataker, in 1621, also took Amos as his text in a clarion call for solidarity with international Protestantism: 'Can we heare daily reports of our brethren in foraine parts, either assaulted, or distressed, or surprised by Popish forces [...] and yet esteem all as nothing, or thinke that we have no iust cause to mourne and lament?'[51] Such plain speaking, Donne concludes in his own exordium, whether it pleases the court or not, is a requisite part of the God-given duty of the preacher: 'we must have our owne *Amos*, aswell [*sic*] as our *Amasias*'. [II, 349.]

Donne thus presents his court oratory as occupying a middle ground between two extremes: the prophetic zeal of Amos and the conformist reticence of Amasias. However, as Peter Lake has shown, in the fragile consensus of the Jacobean Court the 'rhetoric of moderation' itself often proved controversial. In particular, godly conformists such as Joseph Hall and John Preston used moderate irenic language to promote international Protestant solidarity in *opposition* to the liberal theology and pro-Spanish apologetics of churchmen such as Richard Neile, Lancelot Andrewes, and William Laud.[52] In attending to the language of Donne's court sermon in the context of its preaching occasion, it is helpful to grasp the increasing polarisation of religio-political opinion in the court in early 1620. For by March of that year, the spectrum of such opinion could be said, broadly speaking, to range between two

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[50] King, *A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse*, p. 24.

[51] Gataker, *A Sparke Toward the Kindling of Sorrow for Sion* (1621), p. 33.

[52] See Lake, 'Moderation at the early Stuart Court', in *The English Sermon Revised*, ed. by L. Ferrell and P. McCullough, p. 181. Regarding the conformist, consensual Anglican middle, Lake remarks that 'the nature of the stable middle depended, as ever, on where and how the threateningly peripheral ['puritanism' and 'popery'] was located and what relative weight was placed on the available outside threats.'

contrary positions. On one side, in support of financial and military solidarity with the Protestant Churches on the continent were those such as George Abbot, Ralph Winwood, and Edward Herbert. For these men, contemporary events were seen 'as part of a pattern of Protestant apocalyptical history'.[53] On the other side of the debate were courtiers and privy councillors who held more closely to the pro-Spanish line of the King. In this group, men such as George Calvert, Lionel Cranfield, and John Digby feared the revolutionary implications of Protestant millenarianism, and sought a policy more conducive to 'the stability of the political and social status quo.'[54]

Given the factional nature of the court, how might Donne's knowledge of law have contributed to his rhetoric of moderation? Following his sermon's opening remarks, Donne defines the type of prophecy that he proposes to 'extend and apply', and to whom he intends to apply it. Referring to the '*Woe* in this Text', Donne asks, '*Cui væ*? to whom belongs this woe?' Distancing himself from seeming to meddle with matters of State, Donne observes that Amos's warning against being overly desirous of the 'Day of the Lord' does *not* apply to nations, cities, families, or idolaters. Rather, the 'woe' belongs to 'them, whom your owne conscience shall find it to belong unto'. [II, 350.] Hence Donne suggests that the moral application of his text is a matter for personal scruple. In common law terms, by narrowing the focus of his sermon in order to avoid misinterpretation, Donne thereby establishes both the

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[53] Simon Adams, 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in *Faction and Parliament*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe, p. 140. Other court preachers critical of James's pro-Spanish policy included Sampson Price, George Hakewill, and anti-Catholic controversialist Francis Mason.

[54] *Ibid.*. Pro-Spanish court preachers included John Buckeridge, Walter Curll, and John Denison.

choice of writ (Amos 5.18) and the parties to the action (the individual conscience of each courtier).[55]

Further recourse to law terms and legal procedure follows. First, Donne's *divisio* identifies the three kinds of sin – presumption, hypocrisy, and desperation – that lead to inordinate desire of the day of judgement. In treating the sin of presumption Donne adopts a mooting technique familiar from the law exercises of the Inns of Court: namely, voicing the plea of one's opponent to demonstrate, rather than merely allege, its falsity. In a lengthy passage Donne rehearses the arguments of those who presume to dismiss the prophets' warnings of the *Dies Domini*: 'You your selves live parched and macerated in a starved and penurious fortune, and therefore you cry out that we all must die of famine too'. [II, 351.]

In his study of mooting procedures, Wilfrid Prest finds that 'while participants, place, time and standard of argument differed, the general principle was the same.'[56] In each moot the general procedure was for the choice of writ and parties to the action to be followed by discussion, giving rise to pleadings made back and forth. In his *dilatatio* on the sin of presumption, Donne imitates moot procedure by first pleading the unbeliever's case ('All this is *dies mundi*, and not *dies Domini*') and then refuting it with the argument of the prophet: 'they had known that that God had formerly

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[55] Donne's establishment of his 'writ' in his sermon also draws on classical rhetorical theory, in which the Greek term *stasis* designates the exact legal issue or point of contention that is under consideration. (Gregory Kneidel, 'John Donne's *Via Pauli*', *JEGP*, 100 (2001), 224-46 (pp. 241-42).)

[56] *The Inns of Court*, p. 117. Prest identifies various kinds of moot, 'petty and grand, chapel, house, term, hall and library'.

brought all the people upon the face of the earth so neare to an annihilation [...] And could they doubt what that God could do [...]?' [II, 351-52.][57]

In arguing both sides of the scriptural case, Donne thus submits his sermon's plea to the rulings of the 'court', his Chapel Royal congregation.[58] In his second branch, concerning the sin of religious hypocrisy or overconfidence in one's salvation, Donne elaborates the legal framework of his sermon. The 'last day of judgement' now assumes the form of a criminal court trial:

> First, there is *Lex violata*, a law given to thee and broken by thee. Secondly, there is *Testis prolatus*, evidence produced against thee, and confessed by thee. And then there is *Sententia lata*, A judgement given against thee, and executed upon thee. [II, 355.]

In his *Commentaries*, Edmund Plowden describes the same three stages of a criminal law suit: 'first, that the Truth of the Matter be shewn to the Judge [...]; secondly that Judgment be had to recover, and to have Execution awarded [...]; thirdly, that Execution be done'.[59] In the amplification of each branch of his sermon, Donne's exposition recalls the formal apparatus of justice. First the hypocrite is identified as one of Jasper Mayne's pious 'Sonnes of Zeale':[60] 'Let God come when he will [...] he shall finde me at Church, I heare three or foure Sermons a week; he shall finde me in my Discipline and Mortification, I fast twice a week'. [II, 357.] Second, despite his

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[57] For Donne's attendance at Readings, moots, bolts, imparlances, and case-putting at the Inns of Court, see Bald, pp. 53-79. For further discussion of the procedures of moots and bolts, see Richardson, *A History of the Inns of Court*, pp. 137-143.

[58] In Lincoln's Inn the moot 'court' was made up of senior members of the Inn. The court's rulings were taken to represent the Common Pleas. (Prest, *The Inns of Court*, p. 117.) For contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of Lincoln's Inn moots, see BL MS Harley 5265 ('Moute cases Lincolns Inn 6 Februarii 1596').

[59] Plowden, *The Commentaries or Reports*, 2 pts (1761), I, 36.

[60] Mayne, 'On D^{r}. Donnes *death*', l. 65, in *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. by Grierson, I, 384.

'outward righteousnesse' the religious hypocrite is arraigned for breaking 'that Law [which] is *To love God with all thy power*'; third, witnesses come to 'testifie'; and fourth, the accused is judged by 'the Jury'. [II, 356.]

Donne's close parallel between the law courts of God and man thus affords a twofold condemnation of the overzealous. Similarly, Donne uses the analogy between divine and human law to attack the 'desperation' of Jesuits: 'who colouring and apparelling treason in martyrdome, expose their lives to the danger of the Law, and embrace death'. [II, 360.] In this case, the authority of 'the Law' confers procedural validity on Donne's anti-Jesuitical polemic, distancing him personally from the fray.

In this March 1620 court sermon, Donne confines his controversial sallies to puritans and Jesuits. However, at Paul's Cross and elsewhere anti-papist preachers such as Thomas Taylor and Thomas Thompson spoke openly against the relaxation of penal laws relating to English Catholic recusants.[61] Insofar as increased tolerance was a precondition of the Spanish match, such attacks from the pulpit also implied criticism of royal inactivity in 'the present broyles that are on foote in Germanie'.[62] In the first of his two April court sermons for 1620, Donne appears to avoid such controversial matters, concerning himself instead with the danger of riches to the

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[61] Taylor, *A Mappe of Rome: Lively Exhibiting Her Mercilesse Meeknesse, and cruell mercies to the Church of God* (1620), p. 80; Thompson, *Antichrist Arraigned* (1618), sig. A1^{r}. For incisive accounts of anti-papist rhetoric in the period, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic & Reformed*, esp. pp. 95-112; and Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 72-106.

[62] Robert Naunton to Dudley Carleton, 10 March 1620. (Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 189.)

soul.[63] However, in his second part, explicating the phrase 'he begetteth a son', Donne touches on the theological, moral, and legal issue of inheritance. Paraphrasing Psalm 127.3, 'Behold Children are the inheritance of the Lord' [III, 68], Donne defines the duty of a father to his children: '*Christianismi famam negligit*, he betraies the honour, and dignity of the Christian Religion, if he neglect his children'. Furthermore, Donne cites St Augustine's warning that:

> *quicunque vult*, Whosoever will disinherit his Sons, though it be upon pretext of doing good service, by building, or endowing a Church, or making the Church his heir, *Quærat alterum qui suscipiat, non Augustinum* [...] Let him find another that will accept his offer; for *Augustin* will not'. [III, 69.]

As a metaphor for the Reform doctrine of election, inheritance may be seen to stand in contrast to other forms of ownership or right associated with Tridentine theology. Thus, Donne's remarks concerning the 'tye', the 'obligation', the 'binds' 'of providing for our Children' [III, 69] may be understood in doctrinal contradistinction to neo-Pelagian ways of earning salvation such as purchase, covenant, works of supererogation, or courtesy.[64] However, the significance of Donne's metaphor of inheritance is not only theological. For in his letter of 10 March to Dudley Carleton, written less than a month prior to Donne's 2 April court sermon, Robert Naunton proffered the King's inconclusive response to the entreaties of the Dutch States General regarding Bohemia: 'his Ma^{ty} desires them to continue theyr care for the

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[63] Preached on 2 April 1620 at Whitehall on Ecclesiastes 5.13-14: 'There is an evil sickness that I have seen under the sun: riches reserved to the owners thereof, for their evill. And these riches perish by evil travail: and he begetteth a son, and in his hand is nothing.' First published in *XXVI Sermons*, the sermon appears to have been divided into two in the folio. For discussion of this textual division, see *Sermons*, III, 391-92.

[64] Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis*, p. 87.

preservacion of his sonne in lawe in his patrimonial inheritance and countries'.[65] Here the King's spokesman, whilst avoiding any promise of action, nonetheless casts the current conflict in the language of a father's legacy to a son. Furthermore, John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton on 22 January 1620, reported the 'much talked of' remarks rumoured to have been made by Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange about James I: 'that he is a straunge [*sic*] father that will neither fight for his children or pray for them.'[66] Viewed in this light, Donne's exposition on the rich man who 'begetteth a son, and in his hand is nothing' may hint at a contemporary political parallel that has so far been overlooked. Or as Donne trenchantly concludes: '*Quod in radice celatur, in ramis declaratur*; God will show that in the bough which was hid in the root, the iniquity of the father in the penury of the son.' [III, 71.]

It would be overstating the case, however, to suggest that Donne's sermon presumed to dictate precepts for the duties of the King. Rather, his rhetoric of the 'middle ground' exemplifies the text of Mark 9.30, cited by royal chaplain John Denison in a sermon preached before the King in 1620: 'Have salt in your selves, and have peace one with another, shewing that the brine of discretion must be the meanes to season & conserve the blessing of Peace.'[67] Like Denison and other royal chaplains such as George Montaigne and Richard Montagu who praised Christian pacifism, Donne's own court sermons occasionally display the 'brine of discretion' in adopting the conventional rhetoric of eulogy for the King as one of the *beati pacifici*. In Donne's second April sermon of 1620, for example, Donne gives thanks: 'that we are borne in a Christian Church, in a Reformed Church, in a Monarchy [...] and in the

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[65] Gardiner, *Letters*, II, 189.

[66] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 285.

[67] *Beati Pacifici. The Blessedness of Peace-makers; and the Advancement of Gods Children*. In Two sermons preached before the King, by John Denison (1620), p. 53.

time of such a Monarch, as is a Peace-maker, and a peace-preserver both at home and abroad'. [III, 80.][68]

However, whereas preachers at court such as Montaigne, Andrewes, and Laud used pacific rhetoric to oppose calls for military intervention in the Bohemian conflict and actively avoided anti-Catholic polemic in the pulpit, the irenic rhetoric of Donne's court sermons functions in a subtly different way.[69] The difference inheres, in part, in the dialectical structure of Donne's sermons, which accords with the form of law exercises such as case-putting, in which students 'reason and argue [a point of law]; and at last, he that putteth forth the question, declaryth his minde'.[70] The logic of Donne's irenic rhetoric follows an equally sinuous path. First, Donne conjures up the spectre of 'the horror and gastlinesse of warre'. Then, shifting his ground to contemplate war 'at that distance where it cannot hurt us', Donne hints that there may be something ignoble in indulging in the 'blessing' of peace in the face of such suffering: 'whilest we enjoy yet a Goshen in the midst of all those Egypts.' [III, 81.] Moreover, Donne's irenicism, like Joseph Hall's and the other British delegates at the Synod of Dort, is directed at quelling internecine Protestant squabbles over doctrine and ceremony, *not* at spiritual peace with Rome. Thus, in the conclusion of his 30 April court sermon, Donne's hymn of praise to the peacemaker king ('And therefore

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[68] Preached on 30 April 1620 at Whitehall, on Psalms 144.15: 'Blessed are the people that be so; Yea blessed are the people, whose God is the Lord'.

[69] For discussion of the tactical use of irenic rhetoric in the late Jacobean pulpit, see Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. by Linda Levy Peck, pp. 113-33; P. E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 139-41.

[70] From BL MS Cotton Vitellius C.ix, extracted in William Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery* (Vernor & Hood, 1804), p. 216.

let us all blesse God, for that great blessing to us, in giving us such Princes' [III, 90])

ends with a pointed warning to defend and consolidate earlier gains made against Catholic adversaries:

> *Ne bona caduca sint, ne mala recediva*, That that blessednesse which we enjoy by them, may never depart from us, that those miseries which wee felt before them, may never returne to us. [III, 90.]

In his sermons at court, as in those delivered at Lincoln's Inn or *ad populum*, Donne's first purpose as minister of the Word was to rouse his auditory to godliness and piety. At the same time, however, close attention to the tone of Donne's sermon rhetoric reveals, as Terry Sherwood has observed, 'The emerging picture of Donne as a moderate, forceful, but subtle critic of royal and parliamentary issues'.[71] To this end, Donne's lawyerly habits of mind are significant. For in the precarious role of chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, confronting the sharp divisions between courtiers over foreign affairs, Donne's practice of choosing the writ and parties to the action, mooting both sides of the case, and adhering to formal law court procedure served to channel potentially controversial topics such as heavenly and earthly inheritance into the rational, disinterested forms of legal discourse.

THE SHADOW OF WHITE MOUNTAIN: DONNE'S LAWYERLY IRENICISM

This chapter's final section considers the role of law in Donne's exegetical response to the worsening Protestant position in Germany in the months leading up to the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620. For in late January 1620, Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania – a sometime ally of Frederick V – had concluded a nine-month truce with the Habsburgs. Chamberlain lamented the treaty as a 'great blow to the cause', observing how 'the Imperialls have gon beyond them in breaking

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[71] Sherwood, '"*Ego videbo*": Donne and the Vocational Self', *JDJ*, 16 (1997), p. 105.

the knot of confederacie, and do follow the rule of *Divide et impera*'.[72] In pursuit of just such a strategy, Emperor Ferdinand II declared in March 1620, under the terms of the Mühlhausen Guarantee, that no Church lands would be seized without princes being given an opportunity to treat with the imperial crown; prompting the Lutheran John George, Elector of Saxony to rescind his state's former neutrality and join with Catholic League forces in an attack on Lusatia (in Bohemia).[73] Despite the evident deterioration of the Elector Palatine's position, however, James persisted in his hopes for a diplomatic resolution to the conflict through the Spanish match. Though privately he condoned ad hoc efforts to relieve the Bohemians with money or troops, publicly he refused to compromise his diplomatic policy by declaring his support. As Chamberlain wrote in late March 1620: 'The king of Bohemia wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor and his bretheren for the loan of 100000^{li} who imparting yt to the King, he saide he wold neither commaund them nor intreat them but yf they did any thing for his sonne in law he wold take yt kindly'.[74]

In a pair of Lincoln's Inn sermons, thought to have been preached in the Easter Term of 1620, Donne's continued focus on religious, political, and legal notions of inheritance comes to acquire a note of topical urgency when seen in the light of popular perceptions of James's seeming indifference towards the fate both of his children and of his continental co-religionists. Although both of Donne's addresses are undated, in *Fifty Sermons* they are placed immediately after the pair of sermons preached on 30 January 1620. Given this fact, and that the two undated sermons deal with death and resurrection, Potter and Simpson assign them to the Easter Term of

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[72] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 290 (to Dudley Carleton, 26 February 1620).

[73] Parker, p. 54.

[74] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 295 (to Dudley Carleton, 20 March 1620).

1620, although not excluding the possibility that they may have been preached during Lent.[75] Whilst the dating of these orations must remain conjectural in the absence of any new documentary evidence, I hope to offer at least tentative support for Potter and Simpson's chronology on the basis that the sermons bear close rhetorical and thematic affinities – not least in their relation to contemporary affairs – with other Donne sermons known to have been preached in early 1620.

In the initial explication of his theme in these sermons – man's inheritance of the kingdom of God through bodily resurrection – Donne confines himself chiefly to points of doctrine. However, in the moral or tropological application of his texts Donne introduces legal imagery congenial to his Lincoln's Inn auditory. Skin which bears the outward marks of bodily sin is compared to: 'Records of velim [...] the parchmins, the endictments, and the evidences that shall condemn many of us' [III, 103]; bodily decay is depicted as common to all, regardless of station: 'Thus farre all's *Common law*, and no *Prerogative*'. [III, 107.] Moral application here shades almost imperceptibly into topical commentary via the use of legal terminology. For Donne's allusion to prerogative hints at increasing popular and parliamentary opposition in early 1620 to the King's sovereignty in foreign policy. Such opposition was only hardened by unwelcome developments in the course of European affairs, such as Bethlen Gabor's Habsburg truce and the Mühlhausen Guarantee, with pamphlets, tracts and sermons calling, in particular, for the tightening of English Catholic recusancy laws. When placed in the context of such fears of Counter-Reformation, therefore, the provisional nature of Donne's irenicism in his 1620 Easter Term sermon comes more clearly into view.

> For, though we have no military enmity, no hostility with any nation, though we must all, and doe, out of a true sense of our duty to God, pray

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[75] For discussion of the dating of the sermons, see *Sermons*, III, 6-7.

> ever for the continuance of peace amongst Christian Princes, and to withhold the effusion of Christian blood, yet to that intendment, and in that capacity as they were our enemies in 88. when they provoked by their *Excommunications*, dangerous invasions, and in that capacity as they were our enemies in 1605. when they bent their malice even against that place, where the Laws for the maintenance of our religion were enacted, so they are enemies still, if we be still of the same religion. [III, 124.]

In preaching to the anti-Spanish proclivities of his Lincoln's Inn auditory – including those such as Sir Randolph Crewe, Nicholas Ducke, and Roger Owen – Donne's exposition thus knits together three kinds of legal inheritance: spiritual, confessional, and national.[76] For, Donne concludes, to assure ourselves 'of the Resurrection in the next life': we must show 'true *faith* to God, true *Allegiance* to our Prince, *true obedience* to the Church'. [III, 124.]

Frequent reversion to legal metaphor thus facilitates, in part, Donne's discreet commentary on topical events. Courtroom terms also permit subtle allusion to pressing contemporary concerns that in themselves are matters of legal dispute (viz. parliamentary encroachment on royal prerogative; or conflicting claims to the Bohemian throne). In Donne's legal conceits, as Jeremy Maule perceptively notes, laws of property dominate: 'as Lévi-Strauss observed of animals, some are 'bonnes à penser', good to think with. So too with laws and Donne: he thinks best with the laws of property.'[77] Thus, in Donne's Easter Term sermons on resurrection, to lose the kingdom of God is to 'incurre a forfeiture of it', whilst for the Elect: '*Perseverance*, as well as *Possession*, enters into our title, and inheritance to this Kingdome.' [III, 130.] Closer scrutiny of Donne's use of such metaphors reveals a palimpsest of potential meaning, for in Elizabethan and Jacobean jurisprudence each of these legal

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[76] For Crewe, Ducke, and Owen, see *ODNB*, 14, 173-74; 17, 33; 42, 265.

[77] Maule, 'Donne and the Words of the Law', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, p. 28.

terms relating to property might be diversely construed.[78] In *Pseudo-Martyr*, for example, a king is said to forfeit his constitutional inheritance (his sovereign authority) if he 'should so farre prostitute his mercie, as to proclaim a veniall Pardon'. By contrast, in English statute law 'forfeiture' might refer to escheats, the confiscation of goods. In a third possible interpretation, 'full foreiture' (*plena fortisfactura* or *plena vita*) referred to the loss not only of goods but also of 'life and member, and all else that a man hath.'[79] To an auditory familiar with legal technicalities, therefore, these various classes of forfeiture – loss of princely authority, of property, of life – overlap and echo in Donne's meditation on inheritance, preached against the background of impending Protestant defeat in mainland Europe:

> So have you seen what the *Inheritance* of this Kingdome is, it is a Having, and Holding of the Gospel, a present, and a permanent possession, a holding fast, lest another (another Nation, another Church) take our Crown. [III, 130.][80]

As well as allowing for interpretative latitude yet without 'wresting' Scripture, Donne's sermons of 1620 also acknowledge the different demands of each preaching occasion. In a sermon delivered at Lincoln's Inn on Trinity Sunday 1620, preached on Genesis 18.25, 'Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?', Donne cites Luther's observation that scriptural explication must be adapted to suit the needs of each congregation:

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[78] 'Possession', for example, 'is said two wayes, either actuall possession, or possession in law.' (Rastell, *Les termes de la ley*, p. 214.)

[79] *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by A. Raspa, p. 165; 25 Edward III, Ch. 2, *Statute de Proditionibus*; Manwood, I, 341 (Cowell, *The Interpreter*, sig. Gg3^{v}).

[80] The sense here is not so much of actively losing the crown, but of having it taken. Simonds D'Ewes, in the spring of 1620, echoes this idea of being hard done by, writing that Frederick will be 'despoiled of his own hereditary dominions'. (*D'Ewes*, I, 137.)

> *Sed non sic agendum cum auditoribus, ac cum adversariis*, We must not proceed alike with friends and with enemies. There are places of Scriptures for direct proofes, and there are places to exercise our meditation, and devotion in things, for which we need not, nor aske not any new proofe. [III, 144.]

Here, in his capacity as pastor of souls rather than that of theological controversialist,

Donne implies that 'direct proofes' may be less propitiatory than associative rhetorical forms such as metaphor, analogy, or example. The extent to which Scripture may be interpreted figuratively touches on a significant aspect of Donne's method of biblical exegesis. For on the one hand, Donne's sermons seek, as a first principle, to preserve the literal, historical sense of the scriptural text, in accord with the assertion of Philo Judaeus that: 'we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things.'[81] On the other hand, however, the *natural* literal sense of Scripture may be extended to encompass the *verbal* literal sense: 'that Expositor is not to be blamed, who not destroying the literall sense, proposes such a figurative sense, as may exalt our devotion, and advance our edification'. [VI, 63.] In this respect Donne follows Augustine's observation that whilst: '*Figura nihil probat*, A figure, an Allegory proves nothing; yet, sayes he, *addit lucem, & ornat*, It makes that which is true in it selfe, more evident and more acceptable.' [III, 144.] In Donne's homiletic prose, therefore, allegory, metaphor, and concrete images 'were not realities of perception, but instruments for making ethical truths aesthetically luminous.'[82]

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[81] *Philo*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, 10 vols (William Heinemann, 1929-62), *De Migratione Abrahami*, IV, 185. For discussion of the fusion of Neoplatonism and Christianity in the allegorical exegesis of Philo Judaeus, continued and developed in patristic hermeneutics, see A. C. Partridge, *John Donne: Language and Style* (Andre Deutsch, 1978), pp. 216-19.

[82] Partridge, p. 227.

> It is not the depth, nor the wit, nor the eloquence of the Preacher that pierces us, but his nearenesse; that hee speaks to my conscience, as though he had been behind the hangings when I sinned, and as though he had read the book of the day of Judgement already. [III, 142.]

The attribute of 'nearenesse' – coming to the heart of an ethical dilemma through the use of discreet allegorical means – is central to Donne's pulpit oratory of the spring and summer of 1620. In London in June of that year both John Chamberlain and William Camden reported that 'drummes beat dayly about the streets for the raising of men'.[83] The mustering of volunteers to fight in Bohemia continued to be fuelled by the failure of the judiciary to enforce penal laws against recusant Catholics. In his 1620 Trinity Sunday sermon, Donne comes 'neare' to the nub of popular dissatisfaction with royal policy in his depiction of a petitioner bringing a complaint before a prince. '*Eripe manum*,' Donne's imagined petitioner declares, 'pull thy hand out of thy bosome, and execute Justice'. And though Donne's ostensible intent is to curb public criticism of the King's judicial leniency, his exordium nonetheless reflects the degree of popular discontent at the monarch's 'manacling and slumbring of the Lawes'. [III, 146.]

Donne's remarks concerning the widening division between Parliament and King over foreign policy come to seem prescient in the light of subsequent events. For just six months after this sermon the Commons petitioned James for war with Spain, leading to the King's dissolution of the 1621 Parliament.[84] The catalyst for the Commons' petition, was the long feared rout of Bohemian forces at Weisserberg,

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[83] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 307 (to Dudley Carleton, 28 June 1620); Camden, *Diary 1603-1623*, 11 June 1620.

[84] In February 1622. For recent discussion of the 1621 Parliament and its dissolution, see Conrad Russell, 'Foreign Policy Debate in the House of Commons in 1621', *Historical Journal*, 20 (1997), pp. 289-309.

outside Prague, in November 1620, by a Catholic League army led by the Bavarian General Johann von Tilly, and the ensuing flight of the Palatinate royal family, first to Silesia, and later to the Netherlands.[85] As Simonds D'Ewes observed, Frederick's defeat at White Mountain also 'ministered opportunity' for the French King Louis XIII to: 'oppress the liberties [...] of his Protestant subjects, who in all their former distresses, ever found support and received assistance from the evangelical princes of the Empire.'[86] Protestant printing presses on the continent did not delay in calling for restitution. First appearing in late November, for example, Thomas Scott's bitterly anti-Catholic tract *Vox Populi* argued that it was not the Protestant *causa communis* that was at fault, but political and court 'affections' that were contributing to a lack of resolution.[87]

Two sermons preached by Donne at Lincoln's Inn on Matthew 18.7, 'Wo unto the world, because of offences', are thought to date to late November in the immediate aftermath of White Mountain. Potter and Simpson assign the sermons to this date on the basis that passages in both orations show that Donne was responding to the 'great agitation' in London at the first news of the Bohemian defeat. As a result of this disturbance, there arose 'a demand that King James should intervene in support of the

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[85] See *D'Ewes*, I, 153. D'Ewes suggests three key reasons for the Bohemian defeat at White Mountain: the flight of Hungarian horse; embezzlement of soldiers' pay by Bohemian officers; and jealous rivalry between the two chief Bohemian commanders, the Count of Mansfeld and the Earl of Thurn. For further discussion, see J. V. Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. Robert Evans (Batsford, 1971; Czech original, 1970), pp. 110-15.

[86] *D'Ewes*, I, 153-54.

[87] *Vox Populi, Or News from Spayne* (1620), p. 9. For discussion of other forms of criticism of James's pro-Spanish policy in 1620, see Louis B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', *HLQ*, 6 (1942-1943), 149-72.

Protestant cause on the Continent.' As I hope to show, further support for Potter and Simpson's chronology derives from segments of the second sermon – especially when seen in its international context – which indicate that 'Donne was inculcating in his hearers a policy of patience in avoiding rash criticism of the King and his ministers.'[88]

In his counsel of restraint, Donne first warns against the 'time-server', he who is 'scandalized and shaked [...] as soon as a *Catholique army* hath given a blow, and got a victory of any of our forces, or friends'. For such a man, Donne observes:

> stays not to give God his leasure, whether God will succour his cause to morrow, though not to day. Hee stays not to give men their Law, to give Princes, and States time to consider, whether it may not be fit for them to come to leagues, and alliances, and declarations for the assistance of the Cause of Religion next year, though not this. [III, 179.]

Donne also cautions his auditory to be wary in case 'a *crafty Jesuit* hath forged a Relation, that that Army hath given such a blow'. [III, 179.] The depiction of Jesuits and papists as 'crafty' was commonplace in the sermons of this period. Thomas Taylor, for example, glosses Hannibal's remarks on his Roman adversaries: '*Magis sea non pugnante Fabio quàm à pugnante Marcello sibi metuere*: Wee are more afraid of slie and quiet Papists, than of boysterous armed Turkes.'[89] Those who call for precipitant action, Donne observes, risk being deceived by spurious propaganda: '(for many times they intimidate weake men, when they shoote nothing but Paper, when they are onely *Paper-Armies*, and *Pamphlet-Victories*, and no such in truth)'. [III, 179.] This remark, in turn, acquires contemporary currency in the light of an increased British appetite for sources of news in this period, evidence for which comes in the form of a sharp rise in circulation of corantos, newsletters, news

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[88] *Sermons*, III, 10, 11. Although the sermons are undated in *Fifty Sermons*, they are positioned as Numbers 17 and 18 in the folio, following three sermons thought to date to Easter Term 1620.

[89] Taylor, *A Mappe of Rome* (1620), p. 95.

pamphlets, and the illegally disseminated manuscripts of parliamentary speeches known as 'separates'.[90] Such publications flooded in from all sides of the religious and political debate. In 1620, for example, to counter Jesuit efforts, Achatius von Dohna and Abraham Williams had a number of pro-Bohemian tracts printed in Middleburgh in the United Provinces for distribution in England.[91] In picking his way through this spate of propaganda, Donne exhorts his auditory to retain hope in State matters, and charity in civil affairs: 'It is well with us, if we can ride out a storm at anchour; that is, lie still and expect, and surrender our selves to God, and anchor in that confidence, till the storm blow over.' [III, 184-85.]

Once again, traits of legal pleading are evident in Donne's methods of persuasion in these sermons. In his second sermon, Donne identifies the dilemma of allegiance facing loyal English subjects opposed to the King's policy of non-intervention on the continent. Namely, the philosophical conflict between:

> those two great axiomes, and aphorisms of ancient Rome: *Salus populi suprema Lex esto*, The good of the people is above all Law, and then, *Quod Principi placet, lex esto*, The pleasure of the Prince is above all Law [III, 185].

Donne's circumvention of this conflict of laws is to adhere to a higher law, in this case St Paul's prescription that we always make '*Finem præcepti charitatem, The end of the Commandement charity*'. [III, 185.] Donne's use of Pauline writ as a higher, adjudicating authority mirrors the way in which protracted disputes in lower

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[90] For discussion of news circulation in the period, see Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture', in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark. A. Kishlansky (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 277-300; and Pauline Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literary and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 68 (1995), 266-85.

[91] Among these tracts was *A Declaration of the Causes, for the which, Wee Frederick* [...] *King of Bohemia* [...] *haue accepted of the Crowne of Bohemia, and of the countryes therunto annexed* (1620).

ecclesiastical courts were submitted to equitable arbitration in the Court of Chancery in the early seventeenth century.

Also, in advising against rash criticism of the government and its ministers, Donne plays the rhetorical parts of both *opponens* and *respondens.* For whilst it is inexcusable, Donne observes: 'Jealously, suspiciously to mis-interpret the actions of our Superiours, [...] so is it also not to feel how the adversary gains upon us, and not to wish that it were, and not to pray that it may be otherwise'. [III, 167.] By his phrasal balance, Donne invites his auditory to 'stand inquiring right' and think through the ethical quandary for themselves, whilst staying within a tradition of English Church orthodoxy. 'How heavy so ever any of Gods judgements be,' Donne remarks, 'yet there is always roome for *Davids* question, *Quis scit*, who can tell whether God will be gracious unto mee?'[92] [III, 165.] In its deliberative, dialectical manner, Donne's exegesis also draws on the adversarial conventions of much early seventeenth-century religious controversy. For example, in Donne's quarto copy of Thomas Morton's *A Direct Answer to the Scandalous Exceptions, which Theophilus Higgons hath lately objected against D. Morton* (1609), the back and forth nature of controversial exchanges is evident in the sequence of contentions and refutations repeatedly titled 'Theophilus Higgons objection', and 'The Answer'.[93] Moreover, Donne's style of proposing one argument only to double back and argue its opposite, giving the appearance of thinking on one's feet, also lends his oratory a non-dogmatic air. Hence, with one breath Donne can assert that, 'There is always roome for *Davids* question, *Quis scit, who can tell?*', only to flatly contradict such a proposition in his

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[92] II Samuel 12.22.

[93] Donne's copy of Morton's *A Direct Answer to the Scandalous Exceptions* can be found in the University of Cambridge Library (Bb*.11.42.(6)). (Keynes, p. 273.)

very next statement: 'Nay there is no roome for it, as it is a question of diffidence and distrust'. [III, 165.] In moving thus from a position of uncertainty to one of conviction, Donne comes 'neare' to the same doubts felt by his auditory, and demonstrates for them a course towards assurance.

Donne's counsel of restraint in response to news of Protestant defeats in Europe also draws on the little remarked source of 'short, thick folios of black-letter Year Books'.[94] For as J. H. Baker observes from the year books: 'judicial inaction was not seen as a dereliction of duty [...] because it encouraged and helped parties to settle their differences when the merits were balanced.'[95] This view of judges as referees of the *communis opinio* rather than its final arbiters, allowing the dispute to find its own equilibrium, finds expression in Donne's call to his auditory to keep faith with James's policy of non-intervention, and its consequences, in the Bohemia-Palatinate conflict:

> thou shalt see that it was well for thee, that there were scandals and offences in the world, for they shall have exercised thy patience, they shall have occasioned thy victory, they shall have assured thy triumph. [III, 170.]

In arguing against public diffidence and sedition, Donne thus suggests that afflictions or 'crosses' are in fact essential conditions of life, that it is the exercise of patience itself which provides 'spirituall nourishment'. [III, 166.] Donne's inclination towards forensic, philological argumentation is evident in his development of this line of thought. Initially, Donne criticises the fifteenth-century Roman Catholic expositor Abulensis (Bishop of Avila) for changing the meaning of the scriptural text ('Wo unto the world, because of offences') by taking:

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[94] Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law*, 5th edn (Butterworth & Co, 1956), p. 51.

[95] Baker, *The Legal Profession and the Common Law* (Hambledon Press, 1986), p. 473.

> this word in our Text, *Mundo*, *adjectivè*, not to signify the world, but a clean person, a free man, that it should be *væ immuni*, woe unto him that is free from offences, that hath had no offences; perchance they mean from crosses. [III, 166.]

The interpretation of '*Mundo*' as an adjective rather than as a noun is deprecated by Donne as 'a most absurd, and illiterate, and ungrammaticall construction'.

Nevertheless, for Donne in his role as preacher, even grammatical absurdities may afford occasions for edification: 'yet there is a doctrine to bee raised from thence, of good use.' For as Donne remarks, 'we may raise good Divinity out of their ill Grammar; for *væ mundo*, indeed, *væ immuni*, woe be unto him that hath had no crosses. There cannot be so great a crosse as to have none.' [III, 166.]

Thus Donne calls for religious constancy in a time of affliction, whilst acknowledging the extent of adversity. 'Not to mourn under the sense of evils, that may fall upon us, is a stony disposition'. Throughout his sermons on Matthew 18.7, Donne's exegesis proposes a broadly consistent *via media* between the twin evils that plague divine, State, and civil matters. On the one hand, the error of passive fatalism in the face of tribulation must be avoided: 'to make all *Possible* things *Necessary*, (this may fall upon us, therefore it must fall upon us) [...] is a vexation of spirit in our selves'. On the other hand, it is seditious to claim that: '(this is fallen upon us, therefore it is fallen by *their practise* that have the government in their hands)'. [III, 183.] In both cases, as Donne observes, to act in haste is to exceed our temporal jurisdiction. For:

> Calvin says learnedly and wisely, *Qui ad extirpandum quicquid displicet præpostere festinant*, They that make too much haste to mend all at once [...] rashly, and sacrilegiously they usurp the Angels office. [III, 182-83.]

As this chapter has tried to show, in his sermons of 1620, preached at Lincoln's Inn and at court, Donne's judicious exegeses constitute, to a greater extent than has

been previously remarked, a discreet yet sustained commentary on matters of acute political and legal interest in British public life arising in connexion with the worsening conflict in mainland Europe. Legal terms and techniques are instrumental to Donne's subtle yet incisive application of his sermon texts to sensitive political topics, including the disputed extent of royal jurisdiction in English law, the relaxation of Catholic recusancy laws, and the uncertain legality of the Bohemian succession. Dialectical procedures of mooting and bolting inform Donne's model of a reasoning, deliberative individual conscience, neither overzealous in expression, nor passively unresolved. Or in Greg Kneidel's apt description of the 'mediocrity' of Donne's attitude to his ministry and congregation: 'more accommodating than a Jacobean absolutist's, more worldly than a Platonic dialectician's, and more tendentious than a diffident Ciceronian's.'[96]

In the following chapter, the continuing sensitivity of Donne's sermons to the circumstances of their preaching is traced throughout the tumultuous events of 1621-1622. For in these years Donne was required to adapt his style of oratory, forged in the collegiate precincts of Lincoln's Inn, to the more public demands placed upon him as Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, as domestic divisions were exacerbated further by the invasion of the Palatinate by Catholic League forces, culminating in the fall of Heidelberg in 1622.

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[96] Kneidel, 'John Donne's *Via Pauli*', *JEGP*, 100 (2001), p. 225.

4. 'Rob'd and tore': John Donne and the Fall of Heidelberg

'FIRE OF TRIBULATION': SUFFERING AND CONSOLATION

Throughout 1621 Donne continued to preach his usual course of sermons during the Hilary, Easter, and Trinity Law Terms at Lincoln's Inn, and during Lent as royal chaplain at Whitehall. In the same year Donne also delivered two addresses before private auditories: to his former patroness Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and at the wedding of Margaret Washington, a lady-in-waiting to Lady Doncaster.[1] In all of these orations one theme in particular emerges: namely, the entwined nature of temporal affliction and spiritual consolation. However, whilst Potter and Simpson note 'the melancholy tinge' of Donne's 1621 sermons, few explicit links have been drawn between Donne's increasing emphasis on the 'fire of Tribulation' [III, 343] and the worsening position of the continental Protestant cause.[2] This is in spite of the fact that Donne's personal correspondence of 1621 contains plentiful evidence of his continuing concern for the Elector's fate.[3] The question remains, therefore, of how Donne's scriptural exegesis and rhetorical *actio* of 1621 reflect his close affinity with international events, whilst accommodating the different rhetorical needs of each preaching occasion.

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[1] For discussion of Donne's relation to his various patrons, see Arthur F. Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. by Guy F. Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 207-34.

[2] *Sermons*, III, 15. Both William Gifford and Jeanne Shami, however, comment on the relevance of Donne's 8 April 1621 Whitehall sermon to *domestic* political affairs. (Gifford, 'Time and Place in Donne's Sermons', *PMLA*, 82.5 (1967), 388-98 (pp. 391-94); Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, p. 91.)

[3] *Letters*, pp. 156-57, 166 (to Henry Goodere, 30 August and 5 October 1621).

Both of Donne's sermons preached to private auditories in 1621 are significant for the light they shed on his continuing connexion to continental affairs. The first of these orations was delivered to the Countess of Bedford at Harrington House in London on 7 January. Lucy Russell's patronage of Donne, which began in 1608, is well documented, and six verse letters from Donne to the countess survive.[4] As well as being a close companion to Queen Anne until her death in 1619, the countess also bore close personal and family ties to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, for the first Lord Harrington, Lucy's father, had been tutor and guardian to the Princess Elizabeth until her marriage to Frederick.[5] Lucy Russell's strong sympathy for the Palatine cause is also suggested by her choice of John Burges as her physician. Imprisoned briefly in 1604 for his puritan views, Burges had subsequently studied medicine in the Calvinist stronghold of Leiden. In 1621 Burges published and wrote the preface to Thomas Clarke's anti-papist tract, *The Popes Deadly Wound*, and journeyed as chaplain to Sir Horatio Vere's English troops in the Palatinate.[6]

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[4] *Sermons*, III, 13-5; Bald, pp. 170-80. On Donne's links to the Countess of Bedford, the articles that I have found most useful include: Patricia Thomson, 'John Donne and the Countess of Bedford', *Modern Language Review*, 44 (1949), 329-40; Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness', in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by K. Sharpe and S. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 52-77; Mary Hull Mohr, 'Lucy Harrington and John Donne: Reinterpreting a Relationship', in *A Humanist's Legacy: Essays in honor of John Christian Bale*, ed. by Dennis M. Jones (Decorah, IA: Luther College, 1990), pp. 49-62.

[5] In 1621 the countess made a hazardous sea voyage to visit Elizabeth in The Hague. (Carola Oman, *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1938), pp. 201-3, 296-97.)

[6] In the preface to *The Popes Deadly Wound* (1621), sig. A1^{r}, Burges describes the English troops as being 'in the service of the King of Bohemia, for the defence of the Pallatinate'.

In his January 1621 sermon to the countess Donne preached on Job 13.15, 'Loe, though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' Donne's text thus establishes his sermon's theme: the need for religious constancy in times of affliction. But how, Donne asks, can a loving God be present in adversity? Characteristically, Donne's response is via an etymological syllogism, a common feature of his sermons' *inventio*. The Hebrew name of God, *Shaddai*, is found to signify, '*Dishonor*, as the *Septuagint* translate it in the Proverbs'. [III, 191.] Where there is adversity, or calamity, therefore, there is also dishonour, or *Shaddai*, leading Donne to conclude that:

> God and the calamity are together, God does not *send* it, but bring it, he is there as soone as the calamity is there, and calling that calamity by his owne name, *Shaddai*, he would make that very calamity a candle to thee, by which thou mightst see him [III, 192].

Personal 'calamities' suffered by Lucy Russell almost certainly lent pathos to Donne's remarks.[7] In 1622, for example, the countess was still writing to Dudley Carleton of her overwhelming debts, complaining of being involved 'with so many busenesses for the setling an incomberd estate as I can not stirre.'[8] The disasters that had overtaken the Bohemian cause must also have added bite to Donne's comments. For the same word, 'calamities', is used by Samuel Buggs in 1622 in a direct call for English intervention in the continental war: 'Shal the Tempest roare so lowd, and *Ionas sleepe*? Our *gracious* and *prudent Prince*, having a fellow-feeling of our Calamities, could in his love doe no lesse then say as *Iosuah* to *Israel*, *Prepare*.'[9] In

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[7] Such as her serious illness of 1612-13, the paralysis of her husband after a hunting fall, and the deaths of her father and brother in 1613 and 1614. As a result of heavy debts, the countess was also forced to sell off the Harrington estates, Burly and Combe Abbey. (Lewalski, 'Lucy, Countess of Bedford', pp. 53-54; and Thomson, 'John Donne and the Countess of Bedford', p. 338.)

[8] NA SP 14/130/15.

[9] Buggs, *Miles Mediterraneus. The Mid-land Souldier* (1622), p. 12.

Donne's sermon to Lucy Russell, the embattled soul is portrayed as a city under siege (which, though a commonplace image in the sermons of the period, was also used by preachers such as Michael Wigmore in 1619 to refer clearly to the embattled state of the international Protestant cause).[10] Constancy and loyalty will be rewarded, Donne insists, for God 'will much more send new supplies, when the town is held for him, and by his friends.' [III, 198.] Preaching in January 1621 to a staunch supporter of Elizabeth's cause, therefore, it seems possible that Donne's beleaguered 'town' might also have called to mind the besieged Palatine fortress cities of Heidelberg, Frankenthal, and Mannheim.

Further allusion in the sermon to contemporary international affairs is suggested by Donne's reference to a cabinet of war. 'The King that intends a war, in that Gospell [Luke], takes counsaile, whether he be able with his *tenne thousand* to meet the enemy with *twenty thousand*.' [III, 200.][11] Donne's number of ten thousand troops (drawn from his biblical source, Luke 14.31) also corresponds precisely with the number of infantry referred to by John Chamberlain in his letter to Dudley Carleton dated twelve days after Donne's sermon. Chamberlain remarks that he had 'no great hope of goode successe [...] that 10 000 foote and 2 000 horse' could be maintained in the Palatinate. Donne's remark that 'The King that intends a war [...] takes counsaile' takes on further contemporary significance when viewed in the light of domestic State Papers from the period. For just six days after Donne's sermon the Privy Council convened a meeting at which Donne's patron Viscount Doncaster was present, and to which a number of veterans of the Bohemian conflict were

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[10] Wigmore, *The Holy Citie* (1619), pp. 1, 5.

[11] Cf. Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 421: 'And yet yf promise be not kept we talke of 10000 foote and 2000 horse to be maintained in the Palatinat'. (To Dudley Carleton, 19 January 1622.)

summoned.[12] A council of war was established and cost estimates made for the recovery of the Palatinate.[13] It seems likely, therefore, that Donne had knowledge of the plans for such a meeting, for his remarks on Luke 14.28 regarding spiritual suffering also appear explicitly to anticipate and endorse the privy councillors' cost estimations: 'if you purpose to *suffer* for Christ [...] The way is [...] to *sit downe and count the cost* [...] to look to your stock, your strength, and from whence it comes.' [III, 200.]

An impression emerges, therefore, of Donne in his January 1621 sermon exercising a degree of latitude in touching on sensitive international matters before a presumably sympathetic Countess of Bedford. Further evidence of Donne's close ties to a largely pro-Bohemian coterie of nobility and gentry may be found in his address preached at Margaret Washington's wedding at St Clement Danes on 30 May.[14] Donne's opening remarks recall the sermon that he had preached a year previously at the marriage of Lucy Goodere, the daughter of his old friend, and Sir Francis Nethersole, secretary to the 1619 Doncaster embassy to Germany, and since September 1619, secretary to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and English agent to the princes of the Evangelical Union. For Donne observes that he had 'had the like occasion as this to speak before, in the presence of many honourable persons in this

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[12] Including the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Leicester, Viscount Wilmot, Baron Danvers, Sir Edward Cecil, Sir Horace Vere, and Captain John Bingham. (Camden, *Diary 1603-1623*, 13 January 1621.)

[13] Itemised for an army of 25,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and an artillery train consisting of 20 pieces of ordnance. (D. E. Evans, ed., *Equipping a 17th Century Army: An Estimate of the English Forces Required for War in the Palatinate* (Montgomery, 1985), p. 1.)

[14] Margaret Washington was a 'fine woman' of Viscount and Lady Doncaster. (*Sermons*, III, 20.) This sermon survives in three manuscript copies: *Merton*, *Ellesmere*, and *St Paul's*. For discussion of textual variations between the manuscript and folio versions, see *Sermons*, III, 417-23.

company.' [III, 241.][15] Yet how might Donne's close social affinity with many in his auditory – and the evident connexions of many of those present with events abroad – have shaped the tone and content of his wedding sermon? The concluding exhortation of Donne's address suggests one way in which he sought to meet the expectations of his congregation:

> I shall see the Sunne black as sackcloth of hair, and the Moon become as blood, and the Starres fall as a Figge-tree casts her untimely Figges, and the heavens roll'd up together as a Scroll. I shall see a divorce between Princes and their Prerogatives, between nature and all her elements, between the spheres, and all their intelligences, between matter it self, and all her forms, and my mariage shall be, *in æternum*, for ever. [III, 254.]

Here Donne moves beyond considering the temporal duties of marriage between a man and a woman; he adopts the apocalyptic imagery of Revelation 6.12 to imagine a spiritual union *sub specie æternitatis*. However, interpolated into this chronicle of last things, of bloody moon and sackcloth sun, is 'a divorce between Princes and their Prerogatives'. As elsewhere in Donne's sermons, both the mystical realm of 'inexpressible, unconceivable things' [V, 76] and the mundane but urgent domain of contemporary political conflict are held in mutual tension, battened together in this case by the forceful epanalepsis of Donne's repeated personal pronoun 'I'.

How far such language might have chimed with the millenarian hopes and fears of some in Donne's auditory is impossible to say. Indeed, by comparison, other preachers in 1621 such as Thomas Gataker, Thomas Jackson, and Samuel Buggs were frequently more outspoken in declaring solidarity with the international Protestant cause: 'The Christians in *Polonia* cry out for ayde: The Protestants in *Bohemia* groane under a heavie and intolerable burden: The Protestants of *France* send many sighes to

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[15] A further link connecting the members of Donne's social circle lies in the fact that Lucy Goodere was the goddaughter of Lady Bedford, Lucy Harrington's mother. (Bald, p. 367.)

heaven for *peace* or *bare security*'.[16] Nevertheless, in Donne's scriptural allusion to the fig tree that 'casts her untimely Figges', the sharp-eared among his auditory may have detected a sardonic echo of James's opening speech to Parliament on 30 January 1621, three months earlier. For in the eighteen years that he had been in England, the King declared, the country had been at peace, and he considered it an honour: 'that you should live quietly under yo^{r} vines and fig trees reapinge the frutes of yo^{r} owne labours'.[17]

Donne's personal correspondence of 1621 also continued to demonstrate a keen interest in continental affairs. Writing to Henry Goodere on 30 August, Donne's letter is full of the latest news from the Palatinate, including false rumours of Count Mansfeld's victory over the Duke of Bavaria, the difficulty this presented for Digby's peace negotiations with the Emperor, and the loss of 'affection of the English' in the United Provinces due to James's irresolution and the advance of Spinola towards the Spanish Netherlands.[18] Writing to Goodere a month later, Donne continued to report on the reverses suffered by the Palatinate forces, with little hope that the territory could be held: 'so that now the Enemy is got on that side the River which *Heydelberg* is on, and I know nothing that can stand in his way.'[19]

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[16] Buggs, *Dauids Strait, a Sermon preached at Pauls-Crosse, July 8, 1621* (1622), p. 57.

[17] Folger MS Z. E. 1 (15): Historical Papers of the Time of James I, fol. 2. Cf. Walter Curll: 'but we dwell in the tabernacles of *peace*, and sit in safetie every man under his vine, and under his fig tree'. (*A Sermon Preached at Whitehall, on the 28 of April, 1622* (1622), p. 20-21.) These images stem from a number of Old Testament passages, especially I Kings 4.25, Micah 4.4, and Isaiah 65.21-22.

[18] *Letters*, p. 154; Gosse, II, 142-44. For Digby's embassy to Ferdinand, see W. B. Patterson, 'King James I and the Protestant Cause in Crisis in 1618-22', in *Religion and National Identity*, Studies in Church History, Vol. 18, ed. by S. Mews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), pp. 319-34.

[19] *Letters*, p. 166; Gosse, II, 150.

In Donne's Whitehall sermons of early 1621, however, a different note is struck. Whilst still pursuing a broad theme of Christian consolation in adversity, Donne's allusions to contemporary affairs chiefly echo James's frustration with controversial preaching. For in February 1621 Gondemar had reported James's dismay at the puritan publications directed against his foreign and domestic policies, such as Thomas Scott's anti-Spanish tract *Vox Populi*.[20] Consequently, throughout the winter and spring of 1621 numerous preachers were committed to the Gatehouse, Fleet, and Tower of London for preaching or writing on Bohemia and the Spanish match.[21]

In his court sermon on the first Friday in Lent, preached on 16 February 1621 before the King, Donne took as his text I Timothy 3.16, 'And without controversie, great is the mystery of Godliness'. In his criticisms of controversial preaching, Donne's exegesis focusses on the instrumental nature of Church ordinance in Christian faith. To this end, Donne draws a parallel between obedience to the authority of royal proclamations, and belief in Holy Writ.

> It is some negligence not to read a Proclamation from the King; it is a contempt, to transgresse it; but to deny the power from which it is derived, is treason. Not to labour to understand the Scriptures, is to slight God; but not to believe them, is to give God the lye: he makes God a lyer, if he believe not the Record that God gave of his Son. [III, 208.]

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[20] A. J. Loomie, ed., *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics, Vol. 2, 1613-1624*, Catholic Record Society, 68 (1978), p. 145. Simonds D'Ewes reports first seeing *Vox Populi* on Monday 4 December 1620. (*D'Ewes*, I, 161-62)

[21] Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First*, 2 vols (1848), II, 226; Peter Lake, 'Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match', *Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), 802-25. See also John Chamberlain on the committal of Thomas Scott, for the 'speading of scandalous pamfletts.' (Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 336, to Dudley Carleton, 20 January 1621.)

Donne's apparently innocuous analogy here takes on a richer, more equivocal sense when seen in the light of Sir Edward Coke's legal explanation on 5 February, eleven days earlier, that royal proclamations against Parliament had no force.[22] Yet, characteristically, Donne's oblique commentary on current affairs is neither simplistically oppositional, nor meekly compliant. From 'negligence' through 'contempt' to 'treason' Donne lays out a graduated framework for the exercise of individual conscience. Nevertheless, whilst room exists for tolerance of varying degrees of understanding in both civil and religious spheres, adherence to the written law in Donne's schema is a fundamental duty. Donne's comments appear, therefore, to impinge in early 1621 on pressing concerns of doctrinal and ceremonial conformity in the Jacobean Church. For in his remarks on the authentic quality of Church conformity Donne extends his legal analogy to depict Scripture as a conveyance, a legal deed that passes or conveys land from one man to another.[23] 'In any Conveyance, if any thing be interlin'd, the interlining must be as well testified, and have the same witnesses upon the Endorsment, as the conveyance it self had.' The same degree of verification, Donne concludes, is also required in matters of ecclesiastical custom. For, 'When there are traditions in the Church (as declaratory traditions there are) they must have the same witnesses, they must be grounded upon the Word of God'. [III, 208-9.][24]

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[22] *The Commons Debates for 1621*, ed. by W. Notestein, F. H. Relf and H. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), II, 22.

[23] Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary*, 10th edn (1782), sig. Lll^{v}.

[24] Donne also uses the image of the two-sided legal record or roll to stand as a metaphorical witness to conscience. See 'The Second Anniversary', republished in 1621, lines 503-06, in *Variorum*, VI, 36; and Donne's 1622 Easter Monday sermon in *Sermons*, IV, 96.

Thus Donne characteristically places his emphasis on the legal principle or spirit underpinning civil and religious orthodoxy, rather than on the letter or detail of conformity itself; though without going as far as other mainstream English Church ministers such as Timothy Rogers who openly defended the religious practices of puritans: 'Let men cease to revile them, whose care is to live together as brethren, in the profesion of religion and unitie of the church'.[25] Nevertheless, evidence of doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and political moderation in Donne's 1621 sermons may go at least some way towards redressing some recent critical accounts, in which Donne is portrayed in political terms as a royal absolutist and dedicated 'Kingsman'.[26] Further mitigation of such claims derives from Donne's readiness to hold the powerful members of his court auditory to account on matters of personal morality. For in his 8 April Whitehall sermon Donne took as his text Proverbs 25.16, 'Hast thou found honey? Eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith, and vomit it.' Although Potter and Simpson describe the sermon as 'not particularly interesting'[27] the significance of Donne's exposition comes more clearly into focus when seen in the light of the public events of the preceding two months. In February 1621 Parliament had taken up patents. Both Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell were discovered to have abused monopolies on inns and ale-houses, and

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[25] Rogers, *The Roman Catharist or The Papist is a Puritan* (1621), p. 41.

[26] See John Carey, *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art*, 2nd edn (Faber & Faber, 1990), pp. 122-23; Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Los Angeles & Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 165-67; Richard Strier, 'Donne and the Politics of Devotion', in *Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, 1540-1688*, ed. by D. B. Hamilton and R. Strier, pp. 93-114.

[27] *Sermons*, III, 19.

were tried in the House of Lords.[28] Mompesson's avarice was said to be so great 'as that a man had need of an astrolabe to take the height of it.'[29] But worse was to come, for on 14 March it became known that Lord Chancellor Bacon had been charged with bribery. At the time of Donne's sermon at Whitehall on 8 April, Parliament was in recess for Easter, although some committees of lords were active in collecting evidence against Bacon.[30] In light of the allegations against the Lord Chancellor, and in view of Donne's satirical depiction in his *Catalogus Librorum* (1650) of Bacon's lawyerly *ars plorandi*, I would suggest that Donne's pulpit commentary on theft and temporal covetousness has a contemporary relevance that previously has not been widely acknowledged or fully discussed.[31]

> *Nisi reddantur, rapina est*, sayes the Law, If we restore not that which we finde, it is robbery. S. *Augustine* hath brought it nearer, *Qui alienum negat, si posset, tolleret*, He that confesseth not that which he hath found of another mans, if he durst, he would have taken it by force. [III, 230.]

Despite the force of such criticisms, however, Donne's remarks may still be regarded as temperate in comparison to more outspoken contemporaries. In his April assizes sermon against bribery, for example, William Yonger attacks judges who course 'up and down in their Circuits, and Iurisdictions abirding after money'.[32] It is

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[28] *Journals of the House of Lords* (HMSO, 1509-1971/2), III, 49-50. (7 March 1621.)

[29] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 347; *The Commons Debates for 1621*, II, 106-14, 123-33.

[30] Gifford, 'Time and Place in Donne's Sermons', pp. 388-98. For a detailed account of Bacon in 1621, see Jonathan Marwil, *The Trials of Counsel: Francis Bacon in 1621* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976), pp. 25-29.

[31] *John Donne, The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum in Comparabilium et non Vendibilium*, ed. by E. M. Simpson (The Nonesuch Press, 1930), pp. 36-37.

[32] *The Vnrighteous Iudge* (1621), p. 7. Isaac Bargrave's 1621 Lent court sermon also attacked abuses of patents and monopolies, whilst appending a brief appeal for aid for beleaguered foreign Protestants. (*A Sermon against Selfe-Policy Preached at White-Hall in Lent 1621* (1624), p. 38.)

also possible that Donne's remarks on covetousness contain an element of self-reflexive irony. For in the ecclesiastical reshuffle following the death on 30 March of John King, Bishop of London it was widely rumoured that Donne was to be made Dean of Salisbury.[33] In recognising the siren call of his own ambition, therefore, Donne's caveat, '*Comede ad sufficientiam*, Eat but enough' [III, 234] may also have carried a private resonance. In addition, in the light of the Armistice of Mainz – agreed in April 1621 between Spain and the princes of the Protestant Union, under the terms of which the Union formally abandoned the defence of the Palatinate unless Frederick should renounce his pretensions to the Bohemian throne – Donne's comments on the restoration of 'that which we finde' may also have been intended, albeit indirectly, to discomfort Spanish and imperial ambassadorial ears at court.[34]

John King's death in the spring of 1621, coming after that of another influential court Calvinist, James Montagu of Winchester in 1618 (succeeded by Lancelot Andrewes in 1619), contributed further to the ongoing shift in the balance of power within the English Church. This shift, towards those protégés of Richard Neile who were inclined to Arminianism, such as Andrewes and John Buckeridge, was further advanced by William Laud's elevation to the bishopric of St David's in June 1621.[35] At the same time, the interests of more natural allies of Donne, such as the pro-Bohemian conformist Calvinists John Williams and Christopher Swale, were gravely hampered by Archbishop Abbot's manslaughter of a gamekeeper in July 1621 and his subsequent loss of court favour.[36] A further blow to those supportive of taking a more aggressive line in the recovery of the Palatinate was the imprisonment in July of Dean

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[33] HMC, 9th Report (Hatfield House) XVII, p. 271; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 360.

[34] Parker, p. 57.

[35] William Laud, *Works*, ed. by J. Bliss and W. Scott (Oxford, 1853), III, 136.

[36] P. A. Welsby, *George Abbot: The Unwanted Archbishop* (SPCK, 1962), pp. 94-95.

Sutcliffe of Exeter and Archdeacon Hakewill of Surrey for their opposition to James's pro-Spanish foreign policy.[37]

It is in the light of such shifts in the relative authority held by different English Church factions that a quartet of Donne's Lincoln's Inn sermons, tentatively dated to 1621, may best be viewed.[38] All four sermons, preached during the Trinity Term, display familiar traits of Donne's exegetical style. In each address the different versions and translations of each scriptural text are compared and evaluated. Patristic sources such as Augustine, Tertullian, and Origen are sifted and weighed against medieval authorities such as Bernard and Aquinas, and pagan philosophers such as Aristotle and Epictetus.[39] Innovations in Church ceremony by nonconformists, and in doctrine by post-Tridentine papists, are measured against ecclesiastical tradition and canonical Scripture and found to be wanting. Donne insists that papists must 'answer our Laws as well as our Preaching, because theirs is a religion mixt as well of Treason, as of Idolatry.' [III, 257.] But tellingly, given the ongoing factional infighting in the English Church, Donne is at pains to play down heated disputes over Church ceremony. Thus he emphasises that all laws, whether ecclesiastical or secular, must be applied with discretion and sensitivity to the circumstances of each case:

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[37] Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James* (1651), pp. 217-18.

[38] For the dating of these sermons, see *Sermons*, III, 26-28.

[39] For Donne's relation to his patristic sources, see M. A. Papazian, 'The Augustinian Donne: How a "Second S. Augustine"?', pp. 66-89, and Mark Vessey, 'Consulting the Fathers: Invention and Meditation in Donne's Sermon on Psalm 51:7 ("Purge Me with Hyssope")', *JDJ*, 11.1-2 (1992), 71-84. For Donne's scholastic sources, see L. Bredvold, 'The Religious Thought of Donne in Relation to Medieval and Later Traditions', *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne, by Members of the English Department of the University Of Michigan*, 197 (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 193-232.

'There was ever, there is yet a reserving of certaine cases, and a relaxation or aggravating of Ecclesiaticall censures, for their waight, and for their time'. [III, 310.]

By demonstrating the responsiveness of Donne's sermons of 1621 – both to the exigencies of their specific preaching occasions and to wider international events – this section has sought to shed further light on the agile, inquiring, yet orthodox nature of Donne's political and religious conformity. In these sermons, analogies drawn from law (viz. conformity as 'conveyance' or legal contract) and from a subject's relation to royal authority elucidate Donne's graduated, adaptive model of individual Christian conscience. The pointedness of Donne's allusions to contentious matters of doctrine and politics is informed by the specific circumstances of each sermon's delivery. In preaching to friends such as the Countess of Bedford, Donne's topical application touches unambiguously upon matters proscribed for public speech, such as royal conduct of international affairs; in preaching to the court at Whitehall, Donne is, of necessity, more circumspect. On 22 November 1621 Donne was installed as Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, succeeding Valentine Carey.[40] The next section thus examines the occasional nature of Donne's sermons in 1621-1622 in his role as a leading public spokesman for the established English Church.

'IF THE FOOTE AKE, THE HEART AKES TOO': DONNE AS DEAN OF ST PAUL'S

As Dean of St Paul's Donne was required to preach on Christmas Day, Easter Sunday, and Whitsunday, and he could, as he chose, also preach on other occasions.[41]

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[40] Walton, *Lives*, p. 46; Bald, p. 381.

[41] For the constitution of the cathedral, and information about chapels, cloisters and churchyard, see John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), I, 327; II, 137.

The character of the St Paul's auditory was quite different from that of Lincoln's Inn. Where the latter was confined to a collegiate body of men studying or practising law, many of whom were personally known to Donne, at St Paul's Donne faced a far larger audience drawn from both sexes and all ranks and sections of the population.[42] In addition, as Millar MacLure has observed, preachers at St Paul's were expected to set topical events in religious context, to be 'physician to the body politic'.[43]

Donne preached his first sermon at St Paul's on Christmas Day 1621, taking as his text John 1.8, 'He was not that light, but was sent to bear witnesse of that light', a verse he was to preach on twice more in the course of 1622. As Potter and Simpson point out, the symbolism of light was particularly suitable for a sermon preached shortly after the winter solstice, in a time when the sole means of lighting the London houses and streets were oil lamps, candles, and torches.[44] The darkness of the season was also mirrored in the world of public affairs. For in late November 1621 James had recalled Parliament back into session in order to vote supplies for the defence of the Palatinate. However, affronted by Parliament's petition for a general war with Spain and a Protestant match for Charles, the King had charged the Commons with infringement of royal prerogative.[45] Stalemate ensued as Parliament, though 'in no way wishing to exercise freedom of speech displeasing to the King, were at the same

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[42] Also, on the international character of the auditory at Paul's Cross, see Robert Sibthorpe, *A Counter-Plea to an Apostates Pardon* (1618), p. 1.

[43] Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 120. See also Mary Morrissey, 'John Donne as a Conventional Paul's Cross Preacher', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, pp. 159-78.

[44] *Sermons*, III, 37.

[45] BL MS Harley 6794, fol. 56.

time committed to maintaining a theoretical right to free speech on any subject.'[46] As a consequence, James prorogued the session on 21 December, leading to Parliament's subsequent dissolution on 6 January 1622.

In his Christmas sermon Donne seems consciously to turn away from such quarrels, asserting that, 'we decline wranglings, that tend not to edification'. [III, 365.] To avoid controversy Donne emphasises his observance, as far as possible, of the literal sense of the text. Thus Donne explains, following Augustine, that light is not so much an image of Christ but rather *is* Christ himself. 'For, *non sic dicitur lux, sicut lapis*; Christ is not so called *Light*, as he is called a *Rock*, or a *Cornerstone*; not by a metaphore, but truly, and properly.' [III, 353.] Having established Christ as the '*Illa lux, vera lux*' [III, 354] of his text, Donne proceeds to seek applications of that light in the lives of his congregation. Thus he urges the members of his auditory to apply the commandment '*scrutari Scripturas, to search the Scriptures*' to the pages of their own consciences:

> Turne over all the folds, and plaits of thine owne heart, and finde there the infirmities, and waverings of thine *owne faith* [...] Turne thine eare to God, and heare him turning to thee [...] Turne to thine owne *history*, thine *owne life* [...] turne thine *ignorance* into *knowledge* [III, 367].

Typically, Donne here puts a single verb, 'to turn', to multiple uses. Three stages are involved in the call to self-examination: to search one's conscience, direct one's will, and transform one's spirit. In its depiction of a threefold method of self-scrutiny Donne's scheme echoes those of contemporary Protestant casuists such as William Perkins and Arthur Dent.[47] The etymology of 'to turn' in Donne's sermon underpins

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[46] Conrad Russell, 'Foreign Policy Debate in the House of Commons in 1621', *Historical Journal*, 20 (1997), p. 306. See also Simon Adams 'Foreign Policy and the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624', in *Faction and Parliament*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe, p. 160.

[47] Perkins, *A Case of Conscience* (1592); Dent, *The Plaine Man's Path-way to Heaven* (1601).

each of his three senses. For the verb derives, via Old English *tyrnian* and Old French *torner*, from Latin *tornare*, to turn on a lathe. Hence, the 'turning' of a base material, clay, into a finished vessel is analogous to the constructive process of spiritual transformation.

In directing his auditory to turn to 'thine owne [personal] *history*', Donne also recalls an iconic moment from the broader history of English Protestantism: namely, the defeat of the Great Armada of 1588. This allusion serves to bolster Donne's argument for adherence to literal, fundamental Scripture in contrast to post-Tridentine doctrine that only serves 'present occasions'. For, Donne asserts, according to papist designs: 'in *eighty eight*, an Hereticall Prince must necessarily be excommunicated, and an Hereticall Prince excommunicated must necessarily be deposed, but at another time it may be otherwise, and *conveniences*, and *dispensations* may be admitted'. [III, 370.] In contrast to the timeserving nature of such Roman doctrine, Donne calls for steadfastness in adversity, whether God's works bring either suffering or joy. For suffering itself is a path to belief: 'It must be Gods worke to *bruise* and *beat* him, with this rod of affliction, before he will take fire.' [III, 371.]

Donne also uses the motif of light in his 1621 Christmas sermon in two further senses. In the first, '*Lux incensionum*', Donne argues that the kindling of 'your Lamps', of spiritual light or fire, may only be maintained through the ordinances of the Church: 'enlightned in both *Sacraments*, and in the *preaching* of the word'. [III, 372.] In the second, '*Lux Repercussionum*', light is conceived of from the point of view of bearing witness, of being a 'looking glass' to divinity: 'This is, when Gods light cast upon us, reflecteth upon *other men too*, from us'. [III, 373.] Following Tertullian, Donne thus exhorts his auditory to '*receive* Gods face upon our selves'

through the light of divine ordinance, and then '*cast it upon others by a holy life*, and *exemplary conversation.*' [III, 374.][48]

Donne's Candlemas sermon of 1622 also ponders the question of the proper Christian attitude to '*worldly calamities*'. [III, 372.][49] Initially, themes of both mercy and vengeance are suggested by the sermon's text, Romans 12.20: 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head'. Donne notes the topical aptness of such a text, given that it 'direct[s] us to patience, as though these times had especial need of those instructions.' [III, 376.] In what appears to be a barely disguised allusion to the war in Germany Donne elaborates on the reasons for '*weeping with them that weepe*':

> for though God have so farre spared us as yet, as to give us no exercise of patience in any afflictions, inflicted upon our selves, yet, as the heart akes if the head doe, nay, if the foote ake, the heart akes too; so all that professe the name of Christ Jesus aright, making up but one body, we are but dead members of that body, if we be not affected with the distempers of the most remote parts thereof. [III, 376.]

Donne's reference to 'the most remote parts thereof' acquires further topical resonance when it is recalled that by early 1622 the religious conflict in Europe was already seen as continent-wide. For in November 1620, at the same time as Count Tilly's victory over Frederick at White Mountain, Louis XIII had inflicted defeat on the Huguenots at Béarn.[50] Preaching just a month after the committal of his friend Sir

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[48] Donne's emphasis on the morally exemplary nature of 'bearing witness' finds an almost verbatim echo in the third of his sermons on John 1.8, in 1622 at St Paul's: 'be thou his witnesse to *others*, by thy *exemplar life*, and holy conversation.' [IV, 234.]

[49] For discussion of the date and location of the sermon, see *Sermons*, III, 41-43. On Donne's metaphorical use of light in his Candlemas sermons, see Maria Salenius, 'True Purification: Donne's Art of Rhetoric in Two Candlemas Sermons', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, pp. 314-34.

[50] *D'Ewes*, I, 153-54.

Robert Phelips to the Tower for his opposition to the Spanish match,[51] Donne strives to appear even-handed in his application of Scripture to topical events. In referring to the relevance of his text to the 'miseries of our brethren round about us', Donne remarks that 'though I hunt not after them, yet I decline not such Texts, as may direct our thoughts upon duties of that kinde.' [III, 376-77.] Nevertheless, Donne's reference to the 'body' of 'all that profess the name of Christ Jesus aright' acquires further contemporary relevance when heard as an echo of the dissolved 1621 Parliament's pledge of support for the continental Protestant Churches, in which the House stated that it was: 'touched with a true sence and fellow feeling of ther distresses as members of the same bodie'.[52]

In political terms, however, Donne's exegesis steers a characteristic middle course. In line with James's policy of diplomatic engagement with Austria and Spain, Donne argues from Romans 12.20 that men should 'deny no office of civility, of peace, of commerce, of charity to any, onely therefore, because hee hath beene heretofore an enemy.' [III, 384-85.] This prompts the question of proportion, however. For 'if meate and drinke [...] bee due to thine enemy', then what 'proportion of reliefe is due to him, that is thy brother in Nature, thy brother in Nation,

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[51] Parker, p. 55.

[52] See NA SP 14/164/11, Bishop Carleton to his brother, May 1624; and *The Commons Debates for 1621*, V, 204. In his 1622 Gunpowder Plot sermon, Donne makes explicit the commonplace figure of the 'body of the state': 'The King is *Caput Regni*, The head of the Kingdome'. [IV, 245.] See also Thomas Sutton's analogy between three principal organs of the natural body, 'the liver, the heart, and the braine' and the 'three principal members in the body politicke, the Magistrate, the Physitian, and the Divine.' (*Jethroes Counsell to Moses: or, A Direction for Magistrates. Preached at St Saviours in Southwarke, 5 March 1621/2* (1631), p. 1.)

thy brother in Religion?' [III, 384.][53] It is to provide such 'reliefe', therefore, that Donne urges compliance with the King's 1622 forced loan, levied upon nobles, merchants and the higher clergy, declaring that:

> To the King, who beares the care and the charge of the publique, wee are bound to give, *Antequam esuriat*, *Antequam sitiat*, before he be overtaken with dangerous, and dishonorable, and lesse remediable necessities [III, 384].[54]

Though Donne is willing here, before his St Paul's auditory, to exploit popular fears of the King's inconstancy in religion in order to urge a course that promised to bring relief to the afflicted in Germany, he strikes a decidedly different note one month later in a sermon preached during his annual attendance at court. On this occasion, Donne's sermon at Whitehall on 8 March 1622 came just two days after the Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes, had delivered a withering attack from the same pulpit on puritan religious hypocrisy, and two days *before* the court auditory listened to the Arminian-inflected, pro-Spanish homiletics of the Bishop of Durham, Richard Neile.[55] Given the company of so-called 'avant-garde conformists' such as Andrewes and Neile, Donne tactfully shifts from his emphasis in his St Paul's sermon on the King's possible recourse to 'lesse remediable necessities', to a focus at Whitehall on

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[53] For another sermon that focusses on the respective mercies due to allies and enemies, see John Rawlinson, *Lex Talionis. A Sermon Preached before the Prince's Highnes at White-Hall, March 17, 1620* (1620), pp. 21-22.

[54] For discussion of the 1622 forced loan, see W. B. Patterson, 'King James I and the Protestant Cause in the Crisis of 1618-22', in *Religion and National Identity*, Studies in Church History, Vol. 18, ed. by S. Mews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), pp. 319-34 (pp. 331-32).

[55] Andrewes, *The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, Sometime Bishop of Winchester*, 11 vols (Oxford, 1854), I, 398-416. The court Lent list for March 1622 also included Isaac Bargrave, Richard Senhouse, Rowland Searchfield, John Rawlinson, John Warner, William Laud, and Thomas Sutton. (*Westminster Abbey Muniment Book*, Vol. 15, fol. 44.)

the inadvisability of military action abroad. For in apparent allusion to the futility of pursuing a course of intervention in both the Palatinate and the United Provinces, especially given Count Tilly's possession of superiority in the Rhineland,[56] Donne observes that:

> No State upon earth, can subsist without those bodies, Men of their owne. For men that are supplied from others, may either in necessity, or in indignation, be withdrawne, and so that State which stood upon forraine legs, sinks. [IV, 47.][57]

The theme of resurrection also provides the focus, as might be expected, of Donne's Easter Day sermon at St Paul's, preached on 21 April 1622. This sermon came just a week after Charles's chaplain Thomas Winiffe had been committed to the Tower for comparing Spinola to the devil, and the Earl of Oxford had been punished for rash words against both James and Philip IV.[58] It is in the light of such recent events that Donne's quotation of Galatians 1.8 may be understood more fully: 'If therefore any Angell differ from the Archangell, and preach other then the true and sincere word of God, *Anathema*, saies the Apostle, let that Angell be accursed.' [IV, 71.] Similarly, Donne also makes passing reference to current affairs, in this case the parlous state of the domestic economy, in his Easter Monday sermon at Spital Cross,

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[56] Parker, pp. 55-56.

[57] Although, once again, Donne's remarks may be read in a twofold manner. Wherein his comment that 'forraine helps are rather crutches then legs' [IV, 47] may also be understood as critical of the Emperor's dependence on Spanish aid.

[58] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 432; Birch, *Court and Times of James*, II, 304. As one of the three other residentiary prebendaries of St Paul's, along with Henry King and Thomas Mountfort, Winiffe became Donne's close associate and received the bequest of a picture in Donne's will. Winiffe succeeded Donne as Dean of St Paul's in 1631 (Bald, pp. 391-2). For Oxford, see Camden, *Diary 1603-1623*, 18 April 1622.

Bishopsgate on the following day. 'Consider how much other Professions, of Arms, of Merchandise, of Agriculture, of Law it self, are decay'd of late'. [IV, 114.][59]

However, in both of Donne's Easter sermons topicality is generally subordinated to the principal theme of spiritual transcendence. Adopting the Pauline language of '*Rapiemur, We shall be caught up*' [IV, 82][60] Donne imagines man as 'a vapour', possessing 'a blessed alleviation', taken up 'by this Sun, the Son of Man, the Son of God.' [IV, 82-83.] The achievement of such transcendence, through the auspices of the Church, comes via the ordinances of prayer, preaching, and sacrament. Preaching is described as 'the thunder, that clears the air, disperses all clouds of ignorance; and then the *Sacrament* is the lightning, the glorious light, and presence of Christ Jesus himself.' [IV, 105.] As Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin observes, Donne presents in this instance a form of Christian faith that is some way from the kind of wholly private calling claimed by some radical Protestants.[61] Rather, the individual's conscience and duties are both firmly placed within the present congregation and the domestic sphere: 'A good hearer is as much a Doctor, as a Preacher: A Doctor to him that sits by him, in example, whilst he is here: a Doctor to all his Family, in his repetition, when he comes home'. [IV, 118.]

The communal nature of Christian witness depicted by Donne is one in which concepts of law play a central role. Key doctrines such as election and salvation hinge on the interpretation of metaphors of inheritance such as 'the children of God'. In his

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[59] For the arrangements for sermons at the Spital Cross, see Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 167-68.

[60] I Thessalonians 4.17 and 2 Corinthians 12.4.

[61] 'Time, Place and the Congregation in Donne's Sermons', in *Literature and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance England*, ed. by John Scattergood (Blackrock, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), pp. 197-216 (p. 206).

1622 Whitsunday sermon at St Paul's, Donne portrays the Holy Ghost and the individual human spirit as joint advocates in the divine court of judgement:

> And so we have both the persons in this judiciall proceeding; *The Spirit* is the holy Ghost; *Our spirit* is our Conscience: And now their office is to testifie, to beare witnesse [V, 66].[62]

In such proceedings, Scripture itself is imagined, as previously, as a record of law. But significantly, in June 1622, Donne chose to follow Tertullian in refining his earlier legal description of the Bible as 'a conveyance':

> It is more proper to call the Scripture a Testament, then a Conveyance or Covenant: All the Bible is Testament, Attestation, Declaration, Proofe, Evidence of the will of God to man. [V, 66.][63]

At a time when the outlook for continental Protestantism appeared increasingly bleak, following the defeat in May at Wimpfen of the Calvinist Margrave George of Baden-Durlach by the joint armies of Spain, the empire, and the Catholic League, it is perhaps notable that Donne prefers to focus on the notion of the Bible as retrospective proof-text or will, rather than promissory contract or conveyance.[64] As Terry Sherwood observes in relation to John the Baptist's knowledge of his own miraculous birth, Scripture as history serves the important function of informing the individual of his purpose in the world.[65] It is on the foundation of such assurance, therefore, that Donne urges his auditory to cultivate a Pyrrhonic Stoic detachment from the vicissitudes of worldly affairs:

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[62] This sermon preached on Romans 8.16: 'The spirit it selfe beareth witnesse with our spirit, that we are the children of God.' For the dating of the sermon, see *Sermons*, V, 4-6.

[63] The Greek term *diaqh'kh* conveys this amibiguity, signifying both 'covenant' (or agreement) and 'will' (testament) – exploited in Hebrews 9.16: 'For where a covenant *is*, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator.'

[64] Parker, p. 58.

[65] '"*Ego videbo*": Donne and the Vocational Self', *JDJ*, 16 (1997), 59-113.

> Heires of the joy, and heires of the glory of heaven; where if thou look down, and see Kings fighting for Crownes, thou canst look off as easily, as from boyes at stool-ball for points here; And from Kings triumphing after victories, as easily, as a Philosopher from a Pageant of children here. [V, 75.]

However, Donne does not suggest that an attitude of philosophical disinterest obviates the need for present moral action. Rather, as Nancy Wright observes, Donne uses the *figura* of John the Baptist as *testatio* or *martyria* to encourage his congregation actively to 'beare witnesse for Christ'. [IV, 162.][66] For whilst Donne acknowledges the seductive power of the prospect of union with Christ in death – 'when he *desires to be dissolved, and be with him*' [IV, 161] – a Christian must still fulfil his moral vocation in life. Otherwise, Donne warns, one should merely pass out of the world like a hand that 'passes out of a basin of water, which may bee somewhat the fouler for thy washing in it, but retaines no other impression of thy having been there'. [IV, 149.]

On 4 August 1622, under the reluctant auspices of Archbishop Abbot, James I issued his *Directions to Preachers*, in an effort to stem the increasing flow of defections to popery and Anabaptism due to seditious preaching.[67] However, the publication of the *Directions* came just two days after the royal order for all Jesuits, priests, and refusers of the Oath of Allegiance to be freed from prison. The combined

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[66] 'The Figura of the Martyr in John Donne's Sermons', in *John Donne, New Casebooks: Contemporary Critical Essays*, ed. by Andrew Mousley (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 182-97 (p. 187). For a contemporary analogy between the testimony of John the Baptist and the 'witness' of oratory, see Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), p. 85.

[67] Some of the topics proscribed by the *Directions* included anti-papist invective, predestination, matters of State, and personal slanders. For the entire text of the *Directions*, see Kenneth Fincham, ed., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, Church of England Record Society, Vol. I (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 211-14.

result of the two decrees was merely to fuel popular fears of increasing royal toleration of papists and of a falling away from Protestant orthodoxy.[68] Daniel Donne (thought to have been the son of John Donne, Rector of St Benet's, Gracechurch Street) reflects such disquiet in a sermon preached at St Paul's on 4 August, warning of complacency in matters of religion by drawing on the example of the wars on the continent:[69]

> whereas *other Nations* doe ride even vp vnto their *horsebridles* in *blood*, have their *Corne-fieldes* depopulated, their Townes vnpeopled, their neerest *Kindred*, and dearest *acquaintance* most cruelly butchered, and their *whole countrey* exposed to the iniury of the *Armes*. *Wee* through the great Goodnesse of God, Sit every man under his owne *Vine* in *peace*.[70]

Once again it is possible to hear at least a faint sardonic echo of the imagery of James's opening speech of the 1621 Parliament ('live quietly under yo^{r} vines').[71] Yet after Daniel Donne's incendiary account of the horrors of war it would be hard to imagine any, let alone, 'every man' sitting comfortably under his 'owne *Vine*.' The same ominous tone can also be heard in a Paul's Cross sermon delivered by Robert

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[68] Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p. 33; Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, pp. 105-6.

[69] Daniel Donne became Rector of St Benet's after his father's death in 1636. (John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), Pt 1, II, 54.)

[70] Daniel Donne, *A Sub-Poena From The Star-Chamber of Heaven. A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 4th of August 1622* (1623), p. 41. The sermon's dedication to John Donne testifies to the contemporary perception of the broad range of Donne's learning: '*Viro Vere Reverendo Multis Que Nominibus Colendo Iohanni Donne*'. (Sig. A2^{r}.)

[71] These images were repeatedly associated with James in the sermons of his reign. See Thomas Adams, *The Gallants Burden. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse* (1612), sig. D2^{r}; and Daniel Price, *Lamentations for the death of* [...] *Prince Henry* (1613), sig. E3^{r}.

Harris just four days earlier: 'Were we in *France*, in *Bohemia*, in *Polonia*; nay, were we not Christians but Heathens, not men but beasts, not beasts, but ghosts in hell'.[72]

John Donne's response to the tightening of censorship on the pulpit came six weeks later on 15 September, at royal command, in his defence of the *Directions* at Paul's Cross, preached on Judges 5.20: 'They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.'[73] In a 19 September letter to Henry Goodere, Donne suggested that his two main objectives in the sermon were to reassure his congregation of 'his Ma^ties constancy in Religion, and of his desire that all men should be bred in the knowledge of such things, as might preserve them from the superstition of *Rome*.'[74] Donne's exposition adopts the martial imagery of his text, 'in that *Notion*, as he is *Lord of Hostes*, and fights his owne battailes', but Donne is nonetheless careful to emphasise that 'I am farre from giving fire to them that desire warre.' [IV, 182.][75] At the same time, however, Donne is also at pains to 'establish and settle' those that:

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[72] Harris, *Gods Goodnes and Mercy* (1622), p. 16. Other contemporary sermons that take a similar line in matters of foreign policy include Samuel Buggs, *Dauids Strait* (1622), p. 57; Robert Aylett, *Thrifts Equipage* (1622), sig. A1^v; Thomas Adams, *Eirenopolis* (1622), sig. A3^r; and Thomas Gataker, *The Spirituall Watch, or Christ's Generall Watch-word* (1622).

[73] This sermon was first published separately in 1622. For detailed discussion of the sermon and its contexts, see Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, pp. 102-38; and *eadem*., '"The Stars in their Order Fought Against Sisera": John Donne and the Pulpit Crisis of 1622', *JDJ*, 14 (1995), 1-58.

[74] *Letters*, pp. 231-32; Gosse, II, 167-68.

[75] Annabel Patterson has noted Donne's repeated use of the passive voice and impersonal constructions in this sermon, in an apparent effort to distance himself from the *Directions*. (*Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Reading and Writing in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 99.)

> suspect Gods power, or Gods purpose, to succour those, who in forraine parts, grone under heavie pressures in matter of *Religion*, or to restore those, who in forraine parts, are devested of their lawfull possessions, and inheritance [IV, 183].

Preaching on the same day as Donne, Joseph Hall faced the onerous task of interpreting the *Directions* to the King and court at Theobalds.[76] Hall's emphasis on the relative freedom afforded to conforming preachers is echoed by Donne. For 'None are Silenc'd, nor discountenanc'd', Donne observed, so long as 'they fight within the discipline and limits of this Text, *Manentes in Ordine, conteining themselves in Order.*' [IV, 196.] By contrast, Donne disparages nonconformist preachers as 'ignorant, unlearned, extemporal men', in whose indecorous, disorderly sermons, 'faith it selfe grows loose, and loses her estimation'. As a result:

> preaching in the *Church* comes to bee as pleading at the Barre, and not so well: there the Counsell speakes not himselfe, but him that sent him, here wee shall preach not him who sent us, *Christ Iesus*, but our selves. [IV, 197.]

Unlike the barrister, therefore, controversial preachers merely advertise themselves instead of 'him who sent us'. By contrast, Donne presents a model of preaching and religious observance that permits the claims of conscience but that also demands rhetorical discretion and compliance with doctrinal orthodoxy. Room for both positive and controverted divinity is found within the practice of catechising and in the foundational authority of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Homilies. And once again, as throughout his sermons of 1621-1622, Donne acknowledges to his St Paul's congregation the anguish that has arisen over the Bohemian cause, and exhorts his auditory to rise to both a communal and spiritual response:

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[76] Hall's text was John 7.24: 'Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.' (*The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall*, ed. by Philip Wynter, 10 vols (Oxford, 1863), V, 147-57.)

That so, *Priest* and *people*, the whole Congregation, may by their religious obedience, and fighting in this spirituall warfare in their *Order*, minister occasion of joy to that heart, which hath beene grieved [IV, 209].

'A REVELATION TO DANIEL': SHIFTING RESPONSES TO PROTESTANT DEFEATS

Writing to Henry Goodere, four days after his sermon on the *Directions*, Donne reported the first rumours of the news that had long been feared: 'The Palatinate is absolutely lost; for before this Letter come to you, we make account that *Heydelberg* and *Frankindale* is lost, and *Manheme* distressed.' A week later, Donne wrote to Goodere once again, this time removing all doubt: 'Now we are sure that *Heidelberge* is taken, and entred with extreme cruelties. [...] *Manheim* was soon after besieged, and is still.'[77] However, in London the news of Tilly's capture of Heidelberg was met with apparent equanimity. 'The people are flat,' Donne wrote to Goodere, 'or trust in God and the King's ways.'[78]

In the capital's strangely resigned atmosphere of autumn 1622 Donne delivered two sermons at St Paul's on the theme of the relation of the individual conscience to the world. In the first address, on 13 October, Donne preached on John 1.8 for the third time. Four days earlier, William Loe, chaplain to the King, had preached on

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[77] Letter of 19 September 1622 (*Letters*, p. 230; Gosse, II, 167). Letter of 25 September 1622 (*Letters*, p. 211; Gosse, II, 168). The image of a town under siege appears in a letter from Donne to Henry Wotton on 4 October, in which Donne remarks that, 'All our moralities are but our outworks, our Christianity is our Citadel'. (*Letters*, p. 134.)

[78] *Letters*, p. 211. Whilst Chamberlain reports Charles's offer to go to fight for the Palatinate in person (Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 457), James's first response to the fall of Heidelberg was to write to the pope, proposing an unlikely joint European settlement. (Bodl. MS Tanner 73, fol. 236.)

royal absolutism before James at Theobalds, making passing mention of recent events: 'For the manner is now adaies in the beleaguering of a Citie, the Assailants oft times cast their Engines ouer the Wall into the Citie.'[79] In Donne's sermon on John 1.8, however, such allusions to current events are noticeably absent.[80] Instead, Donne focusses on the firm rooting of the individual conscience within the larger social framework of nation, church, household, and vocation. Within this nexus, 'Every Christian is a state, a common-wealth to *himselfe*, and in him, the *Scripture* is his *law*, and the *conscience* is his *Iudge*.' At the same time, however, Donne emphasises that the self-governing member of the English Church, abiding by the articles of his religion, is still subject to the universal dictates of reason. For 'though the Scripture be inspired from *God*, and the conscience be illumined and rectified by the *holy Ghost* immediately, yet, both the *Scriptures* and the *Conscience* admit *humane arguments*.' [IV, 216.]

Donne's aim, here, is in part to deter his auditory from the kind of destabilising individualism that he had lamented in the well-known lines from 'The First Anniversary':

> For euery man alone thinkes he hath got
> To be a Phœnix, and that there can bee
> None of that kinde, of which he is, but hee.[81]

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[79] William Loe, *The Kings Shoe. Made, and Ordained to Treade Down Edomites* (1623), p. 7. In a 13 January 1623 sequel to this sermon, Loe exhorted the King to arm the nation for military intervention on behalf of the Palatinate. (BL MS Royal 17.A.xl.)

[80] Although in his letter to Goodere of 18 October Donne remarks on the presence of Nethersole, back from The Hague: 'I say nothing to you of forein names in this Letter, because your son Sir *Francis* is here.' (*Letters*, p. 185.)

[81] *Variorum*, VI, 12, lines 216-18.

In his 13 October sermon, Donne echoes the sentiments of his earlier poem: 'Thou must not rest upon thy self, nor upon any private man.' Rather, the orthodox doctrine that 'every man confesses, and acknowledges to be naturally and necessarily consequent' is depicted by Donne as a form of common currency acceptable to all: 'these are *Testimonia ab homine*, Testimonies that passe like currant [*sic*] money, from man to man, obvious to every man, suspicious to none.' [IV, 218.] At the same time, however, Donne urges his auditory to be scrupulous in distinguishing the exact value of such witness. For 'though the good opinion of good men, by good ways, be worth our study, yet popular applause, and the voice of inconsiderate men, is too cheape a price to set our selves at.' [IV, 227.]

Characteristically, Donne defines abstractions such as 'conscience' and 'soul' in terms of their sensible qualities. The 'conscience that admits no search from others, is *cauterizata*, burnt *with a hot Iron*', it is 'not *cured*, but *seared*: not at peace, but stupefied.' [IV, 221-22.] The soul, too, is depicted in terms of its capacities of accommodation: it is 'mellow, or supple [...] a facile, a fusil, a ductile, a tractable soule'. [IV, 224-26.] By contrast, a physical entity such as 'Man' is illustrated via a legal abstraction: he is 'an abridgement of all the world'. [IV, 227][82]

In Donne's second St Paul's sermon of autumn 1622, preached on Psalms 90.14,[83] allusions to the continental Protestant plight punctuate Donne's exposition, demonstrating the immanence of divinity in the temporal world.

> The seales of his favour, in outward blessings, fayle me in the dayes of shipwracke, in the dayes of fire, in the dayes of displacing my potent

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[82] For the various senses of abridgement, see Cowell, *The Interpreter*, sig. A3^{r-v}, *sub* 'Abridge'; Robert Brooke, *La Graunde Abridgement* (1576), sigs Aii^{r-v}; and Rastell, *Les termes de la ley*, sigs A5^{r-v}.

[83] 'O satisfie us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our dayes.' For the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, V, 23-24.

> friends, or raysing mine adversaries; In such dayes I cannot rejoyce, and be glad. [V, 292.]

Whilst the 'dayes of displacing my potent friends' seems most likely to refer to the larger Habsburg campaign to unseat Frederick as King of Bohemia, Donne's remarks are also likely to have reminded his St Paul's auditory of the recent news of the surrender of Sir Horace Vere's small army at Mannheim, just six weeks after the fall of Heidelberg.[84]

Two other pieces of Donne's writing are also thought to date from the tumultuous weeks following the fall of Heidelberg in September 1622. With reference to the first, Donne's verse translation of '*The Lamentations of* Jeremy, *for the most part according to* Tremelius', Koos Daley suggests that the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC, and Israel's ensuing captivity, provides a typological motif for the loss of the Elector's capital. 'How sits this citie, late most populous,' Donne laments, 'Thus solitary, and like a widow thus!'[85] Support for Daley's view may be found in the many parallels between Jeremiah's representation of the sack of Jerusalem and the unhappy fate of Heidelberg due to James's policy of non-intervention.[86] First, the lack of financial and military support forthcoming from erstwhile allies such as Great Britain and Saxony is recalled in Donne's translation: 'There's none, though *Sion* do

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[84] Parker, p. 58. The last Palatinate redoubt, Frankenthal, was surrendered to the officers of Archduchess Isabella in March 1623. See also Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 464; and Regina Pörtner, *The Counter Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Ch 4.

[85] *Poems*, p. 373, lines 1-2. Koos Daley, '"And Like a Widdow Thus": Donne, Huygens, and the Fall of Heidelberg', *JDJ*, 10.1-2 (1991), 57-69.

[86] That Donne's translation of '*Lamentations*' was written at the same time as his sermon on Psalm 90.14 also seems likely given the citation of Lamentations 3.27 ('*It is good for a man, that he beare his yoake in his youth*') at line 495 of his sermon. [V, 281.]

stretch out her hand / To comfort her.'[87] Second, Donne follows Jeremiah in showing how the exiled Israelites were driven so far as to consort with former enemies, to 'stretch our hands unto th'*Egyptians* / To get us bread; and to the *Assyrians*.'[88] This biblical allusion takes on a sharper contemporary significance when seen in the light of a widespread rumour in London in late 1622. For it was widely believed that Frederick was disposed, out of desperation, to accept military assistance from Turkish forces. In his St Paul's sermon on Psalm 90.14 Donne appears to defend Frederick's proposed alliance with 'the Turke', both on the religious grounds of divine antinomianism, and on the political basis of *realpolitik*: 'He may quicken our Counsels by bringing in an *Achitophell*, he may strengthen our Armies by calling in the Turke, he may establish our peace and friendships, by remitting or departing with some parts of our Religion'. [V, 274.][89]

Parallels between Donne's translation of 'Lamentations' and his St Paul's sermon of autumn 1622 may also shed further light on the nature of Donne's private sympathy with the international Protestant cause. For in his conclusion of 'Lamentations', Donne diverges from the 1611 'Authorised' Bible's tone of resigned sufferance. Where the King James Bible renders Lamentations 5.22 as, 'But thou hast utterly rejected us; thou art very wroth against us', Donne sounds a more querulous, interrogative note: 'For oughtest thou, O Lord, despise us thus / And to be utterly enrag'd at us?'[90] In the public guise of his St Paul's sermon, however, Donne appears at first to give short shrift to such allegorical questioning of authority. For, although

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[87] *Poems*, p. 375, lines 65-66.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 384, lines 359-60.

[89] For Donne's private view of the possible alliance with the Ottoman client, Bethlen Gabor, as 'but a dream', see *Letters*, p. 84.

[90] *Poems*, p. 385, lines 389-90.

'Israel may lye long under the scourge and scorne of [...] their enemies', Donne proposes that, as a general principle, the Israelites must still not 'fall into tentations of conceiving a jealousie, and suspition of Gods good purpose towards them'. [V, 273.] However, later in the same sermon Donne's exegesis also makes it clear that certain conditions *do* exist that permit such 'murmuring against God':

> And if God doe leave us in an Egypt, in a Babylon, without reliefe, for some time I may proceed to this holy importunity, which *David* intimates here, *Satura nos mane*, O Lord, make haste to helpe us [V, 280].

In considering Donne's allusion to continental religious conflict via scriptural typology, Helen Gardner concludes that, 'If men so naturally thought of the Protestant Church in Germany as Zion, what would be more natural than for Donne to identify its disasters with the afflicted Zion of Lamentations.'[91] Further evidence for this typological connexion can be found in Donne's Holy Sonnet XVIII, 'Show me deare Christ'. For in his quest for the 'true Church', Donne portrays the Protestant Church as Christ's 'spouse, so bright and cleare [...] which rob'd and tore / Laments and mournes in Germany and here.'[92] In addition, Donne's description of the bride of Christ as 'rob'd and tore' draws upon the symbolic identification of 'the bride, the Lamb's wife' [Revelation 21.9] with the holy city of Jerusalem, and thus via topical application, to Heidelberg.[93]

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[91] Gardner, *The Divine Poems*, pp. 124-25.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 123. The notion of the true Church as the spouse of Christ finds its biblical origin in Matthew 25, in the parable of the ten virgins and the bridegroom of Christ.

[93] For further discussion of the nature of Donne's typology in 'Show me deare Christ', see Paul Cefalu, 'Godly Fear, Sanctification and Calvinist Theology in the Sermons and "Holy Sonnets" of John Donne', *Studies in Philology*, 100.1 (2003), 71-86.

In his St Paul's address, Donne returns to the overarching theme of his 1621-1622 sermons, the intimate kinship of divine affliction and mercy: 'God does nothing, God can doe nothing, no not in the way of ruine and destruction, but there is mercy in it'. [V, 284-85.] Suffering also serves to sharpen the appetite for peace. For Donne acknowledges that prolonged relief from strife breeds an indifference towards that relief itself:

> so without doubt, our Ancestors who indured many yeares Civill and forraine wars, were more affected with their first peace, then we are with our continuall enjoying thereof, And our Fathers more thankfull, for the beginning of Reformation of Religion, then we for so long enjoying the continuance thereof. [V, 285.][94]

In cultivating in his auditory a stoical detachment from worldly affliction, Donne's *per verbum* interpretation turns to the experience of holy joy: '*That we may rejoyce and be glad all our dayes*.' Classical and patristic authorities are weighed to support Donne's claim of the immanence of divine joy in the temporal world. Augustine and Philo Judaeus are also cited as authorities in support of the Plotinian view that God must take joy in himself and, therefore, in the world because: '*Deus est quod ipse semper voluit*, God is that which hee would be'. [V, 287.] In rhetorical imitation of biblical syncrisis, the contrasting parallel clauses of scriptural *elocutio*, Donne concludes with Seneca that:

> Here a man may *Transilire mortalitatem*, sayes that Divine Morall man; I cannot put off mortality, but I can looke upon immortality; I cannot depart from this earth, but I can looke into Heaven. [V, 287.][95]

Donne's remarks on earth-bound contemplation of heaven also touch on the restrictions placed on preaching by the *Directions*: 'How far we are bound to proceed

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[94] Donne here echoes Walter Curll, who suggests that some are 'grown weary' due to a surfeit of peace. (*A Sermon Preached at Whitehall* (1622), p. 21.)

[95] That 'Divine Morall man' refers to Seneca.

in outward declarations of Religion, requires a serious and various consideration of Circumstances.' [V, 290.] With regard to this question, Donne distinguishes between the outward 'declaration' of 'inchoative joy' (*Ranan*, to rejoice), and inward joy (*Shamach*, to be glad). [V, 287.] To illustrate his 'consideration', Donne takes the prophet Daniel as a *figura* or scriptural precedent, for Daniel had refused to be bound by the King's proclamation that 'no man should pray to any other God, then the King, for certaine dayes'.[96] Not content merely to 'continue his set and stationary houres of private prayer in his chamber', Daniel instead opened his chamber windows to turn towards Jerusalem, 'that he might be seen to pray'. [V, 290.]

Donne's response to Daniel's zeal, 'which was a direct and evident opposing and affronting of the State', is characteristic of his balanced, lawyerly style of exposition. On the one hand, Donne confesses that he 'dare not joyne with them, who absolutely and peremptorily condemne this act of *Daniel*', on account of God's subsequent miraculous delivery of the prophet and the implication therein that Daniel might be in possession of 'some former particular revelation from God'. [V, 290.] On the other hand, however, Donne is equally unwilling to condone the *figura* of Daniel and by so doing, 'animate seditious men':

> who upon pretence of a necessity, that God must be served in this, and this, and no other manner, provoke and exasperate the Magistrate with their schismaticall conventicles and separations. [V, 291.]

Proceeding beyond the dialectic of the law court, however, the syntax of Donne's prose grows increasingly fluid as parenthetical digressions are cast aside. In the wake of the *Directions*, and in the aftermath of the fall of Heidelberg, Donne's urging of 'religious cheerfulnesse' aims both to edify and reassure his St Paul's congregation,

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[96] Daniel 6.10.

whilst the repetition of 'howsoever' imbues his declaration of spiritual confidence with rhythmic urgency:

> But howsoever that may stand, and howsoever there may be Circumstances which may prevaile either upon humane infirmity, or upon a rectified Conscience, or howsoever God in his Judgements, may cast a cloud upon his own Sunne, and darken the glory of the Gospel, in some place, for some time, yet, though we lose our *Ranan*, our publique Rejoycing, we shall never lose our *Shamach*, our inward gladnesse [V, 291].

Read in the context of the dissolution of the Protestant Union in 1621, and the consequent downfall of all of the major Palatine strongholds in 1622, Donne's sermons, poems and correspondence of this period show a marked response to events in mainland Europe. Concern for the Protestant cause, expressed in Donne's correspondence with trusted friends such as Henry Goodere, is transformed in his orations delivered from the public pulpits of Whitehall and St Paul's into the more discreet forms of biblical typology and legal metaphor. The adaptable, discriminating nature of Donne's exegesis mirrors his fine-grained ethical approach to the competing claims of private conscience and public conformity – an approach epitomised by his two-sided treatment of the resolute zeal of the prophet Daniel. The next chapter, therefore, seeks to develop this emerging picture of Donne's adjudicative exegesis by considering his knowledge and use of the techniques of practical divinity, or casuistry, deployed in his sermons of 1622-1623 after the fall of Heidelberg, preached in the rapidly changing landscape of domestic and European politics and religion.

5. The Prince in the Court of Spain: John Donne and Casuistry

'WITH CRAFTY NEIGHBOURS, A PRINCE WILL BE CRAFTY': DONNE'S PRACTICAL DIVINITY

The previous chapters have suggested that Donne's discreet yet discriminating pulpit oratory is shaped, in part, by two key factors: his experience of foreign affairs and his training in law. A third influence now remains to be examined. That is the role played in Donne's art of moral deliberation by practical divinity, or casuistry, understood as a corpus of ethical precedents used for instruction in cases of conscience, which seeks to adapt broad rules to precise situations.[1] In his 1619-1623 sermons Donne refers frequently to his pastoral aim of 'settling' or 'composing' the moral qualms of his congregation.[2] Many such doubts – compounds of religious and political misgivings – arose in response to James I's dogged pursuit of a dynastic alliance with Spain. Conflicts of loyalty gave rise, in turn, to intricate systems of moral reasoning, or practical divinity. William Loe, in 1621, depicted the task of the clergy in these years as that of 'able ministers applying themselves in every case of conscience, as godly casuists unto all the distressed in mind'.[3]

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[1] *OED*. General studies on casuistry that I have found useful include: Thomas Wood, *English Casuistic Divinity During the Seventeenth Century* (Billing and Sons, 1952); Albert R. Jonsen and Stephen Toulmin, *The Abuse of Casuistry: A History of Moral Reasoning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); and John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf, eds, *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[2] *Sermons*, II, 167; IV, 183, 223.

[3] Loe, *Vox Clamantis* (1621), p. 30.

A number of recent commentators on Donne's poetry and prose have noted his 'casuistical discourse and habits of thought'.[4] With respect to his sermons, Meg Lota Brown has drawn attention to Donne's familiarity with the narrative practices as well as the legal and epistemological principles of casuistry. Brown observes that, frequently, Donne's 'point of departure is the casuistical principle that circumstances determine our relation to any law'.[5] But how far, in any given conflict between the competing claims of conscience and *raison d'état* arising from the Bohemia-Palatinate war, might Donne have been willing to take such a principle? And in what ways might both Roman Catholic and Protestant casuistry have coloured his process of moral reason?

Donne's interest in case divinity was first remarked upon by Izaak Walton. Walton reports that Donne kept 'Copies of divers Letters and cases of Conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; [...] all particularly and methodically digested by himself.'[6] Two of Donne's letters, in which he mentions 'my Cases of conscience' or 'my little book of Cases', corroborate Walton's statement.[7] A number of other leading English Church preachers were also known to apply themselves to practical theology. Lancelot Andrewes, for example,

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[4] Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, p. 21; *eadem*., 'John Donne's Protestant Casuistry: Cases of Conscience in the Sermons', *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 53-66; Camille Wells Slights, 'Notaries, Sponges, and Looking-glasses: Conscience in Early Modern England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 28.2 (Spring 1998), 231-46; and Meg Lota Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

[5] Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience*, p. 98.

[6] Walton, *Lives*, p. 60.

[7] Although no such book of cases is now extant. Both letters were written to Sir Henry Goodere in October 1621. (*Letters*, pp. 226, 200. Gosse, II, 151-52.) See I. A. Shapiro, 'The Text of Donne's Letters to Severall Persons', *RES*, 7.27 (1931), 297-99.

was regarded as 'a man deeply seen in all cases of conscience'; Joseph Hall, too, collected cases and their resolutions.[8]

Donne's interest in casuistry is also evident in his prose. In an undated sermon on Esther 4.16, Donne deals directly with a biblical case of conscience – Esther's refusal to obey the king, that no man or woman should, on pain of death, approach him without royal summons.[9] Such a case exemplified Aristotle's foundation of case divinity, outlined in *Nicomachean Ethics* and cited in turn by Aquinas in *Summa Theologica*: 'Every law is expressed in general terms, [but] there are some matters that cannot be dealt with in general terms'. In such cases, Aristotle continued, the duty of the legislator is to apply judicial discretion, 'exactly as he would [...] amend his law if he took the case into account.'[10] In both *Biathanatos* and *Pseudo-Martyr*, Donne's moral reasoning accords with this principle of equity (as administered in the Court of Chancery). Indeed, the form of Donne's arguments in these works, Ernest Sullivan suggests, follows the broad pattern established by both Catholic and Protestant casuists: 'search history, law, philosophy, and theology for examples of the action; weigh their circumstances and implications; consider judgements made by

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[8] Andrewes, *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron and other Miscellaneous Works* (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1854), p. vii; Hall, *Resolutions and Decisions of Divers Practical Cases of Conscience*, Vol. 7 of *Works*, ed. by P. Wynter (1863), pp. 268-414.

[9] *Sermons*, V, 216-30.

[10] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1137b in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1941). It is reproduced in Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, ed. by Anton Pegis (New York: Random House, 1948), II, 120. (Cited by Meg Lota Brown, *Donne and the Politics of Conscience*, p. 6.)

learned men; and, finally establish the morality of the action under various conditions.'[11]

In Donne's lifetime, however, few systematic works of Protestant casuistry were available in print, of either an Anglican or puritan cast.[12] Out of necessity, therefore, English Protestant divines consulted handbooks of Roman Catholic casuistry. It is thus not surprising that Donne's private library should contain a number of works by continental Catholic casuists such as Angelus de Clavasio, Jacobus de Graffis, and Jacob Gretser.[13] Moreover, A. E. Malloch has drawn attention to Donne's close study in *Biathanatos* and *Pseudo-Martyr* of Roman casuists, including Martin Azpilcueta, Juan Azor, Robert Sayr, and Ludovico Carbo.[14] To understand Donne's absorption of such influences more clearly, however, it is necessary to recognise the principal differences, in both aims and methods, between continental Roman Catholic case

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[11] E. W. Sullivan, ed., *Biathanatos, by John Donne*, p. xii.

[12] With the obvious exception of William Perkins, *Whole Treatise of Cases of Conscience* (1608). Among the later principal works of Anglican casuistry, both Robert Sanderson's *De obligatione conscientiæ* (1660) and Jeremy Taylor's *Doctor Dubitantium* (1660) were published after the Restoration. Significant puritan works also postdate the most active years of Donne's ministry, such as William Ames, *De Conscientia et ejus jure vel casibus* (1630), and Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory: or a Sum of Practical Theology, and Cases of Conscience* (1673).

[13] Clavasio, *Summa Angelica de Casibus Conscientiæ* (Nuremberg, 1492); Graffiis, *De Arbitrariis Confessariorum, quæ ad Casus Conscientiæ attinent, Libri Duo* (Cologne, 1616); Gretser, *Summula Casuum Conscientiæ de Sacramentis* [...] *ex Luthero, Calvino, et Beza fideliter collecta* (Ingolstadt, 1611). (Keynes, pp. 266, 269, 270.)

[14] Azpilcueta, *Enchiridion, sive manuale confessariorium* (Antwerp, 1573); Azor, *Institutiones morales* (Rome, 1600-1611); Sayr, *Casus conscientiæ* (Venice, 1601); Carbo, *Summæ summarum casuum conscientiæ* (Venice, 1606). (Malloch, 'John Donne and the Casuists', *SEL*, 2.1 (1962), 57-76 (p. 73).)

divinity and its British Protestant counterpart in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

For the majority of Roman casuists addressing English Catholics in this period, one task in particular was relatively clear. This was to offer precise instruction on how lay Catholics should comport themselves when required to attend Protestant services, take loyalty oaths, or answer questions concerning the whereabouts of seminary priests. Specific moral decisions tended to be dictated to individuals by Roman ministers, based on precedent and canon law.[15] Thus in *Pseudo-Martyr*, Donne censures the myriad prescriptions of Catholic casuists as '*Nubes Testium* [...] such *clouds* of witnesses, as their testimonie obscures the whole matter.'[16] By comparison, Protestant casuists sought to place greater weight on the advisory rather than prescriptive nature of their role. Thus, in his St Paul's sermon on 13 October 1622, Donne refers to the importance of the clergy's '*advise*' in helping the laity to 'labour to recover the conscience, and devest it of [...] scruples'. [IV, 222.] Thomas Pickering, in 1608, also emphasised the consultative function of Protestant casuists, portraying godly practical theologians as 'Embassadors of reconciliation'.[17]

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[15] For the development of Roman casuistry in response to the moral predicaments faced by English Catholics, see Elliot Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans Under Elizabeth I and James I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); P. J. Holmes, ed., *Elizabethan Casuistry* (Catholic Record Society, 1981); J. P. Sommerville, 'The "new art of lying": equivocation, mental reservation, and casuistry', in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 159-184; and Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), Chs 7-9.

[16] *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by Anthony Raspa, p. 169.

[17] Thomas Pickering, 'Letter of Dedication', in William Perkins's *Whole Treatise of Cases of Conscience*, ed. by Thomas Merrill (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1966), p. 83.

This task of effecting reconciliation – moral, religious, and political – lies at the heart of two of Donne's sermons of late 1622. In the first, preached on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, Donne's St Paul's auditory faced precisely the sort of ethical quandary with which casuists wrestled. For in the aftermath of the devastating losses of Heidelberg and Mannheim, how could popular antipathy towards Catholic Habsburg interests be squared with James's apparent appeasement of Spain?[18] In his capacity as preacher, Donne also faced a second, rhetorical challenge. How might he adopt the conventional anti-Catholic rhetoric of Gunpowder Plot sermons, yet not appear to meddle in matters of State?[19]

Accounts of Donne's effort to resolve these tensions have typically fallen into two camps. Koos Daley, on one side, sees the sermon as strongly critical in religious terms of James's apparently pro-Catholic stance. But equally, John Wall Jr and Terry Burgin view Donne's conformist exegesis as shifting the focus away from religion to politics, dexterously equating loyalty to the King with acceptance of his foreign policy.[20] In 1992, however, a scribal manuscript copy of the Gunpowder Plot sermon

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[18] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 462. A popular appetite for foreign news had only been fuelled by the licensing of a weekly series of newsbooks, beginning in October 1622. For an example of a newsbook from October 1622, see BL Burney 2.(15-22).

[19] For examples of conventional Gunpowder Plot rhetoric, see Robert Tynley, *Two Learned Sermons* (1608); John Boys, *An Exposition of the Last Psalme* (1613); and John Hacket's sermon of 5 November 1623, in *A Century of Sermons* (1675), pp. 742-51. See also Donne's own characteristic pencil markings in the margins of his copy of John King's *A Sermon Preached at Whitehall the 5. day of November. Ann. 1608* (Oxford, 1608), p. 20. ULC (Bb*.11.42 (9)). (Keynes, p. 271.) Next to John King's description of the plotters as, 'Roman archers, & their artillery was shaped in the shap [*sic*] of Jesuits & Priests', Donne writes in the margin: 'The manner of the powder plot'.

[20] Daley, '"And Like a Widdow Thus": Donne, Huygens, and the Fall of Heidelberg', *JDJ*, 10.1-2 (1991), 57-69; Wall and Burgin, '"This Sermon . . . upon the Gun-powder Day": The Book of Homilies

was discovered, corrected in Donne's hand (BL MS Royal 17.B.xx), leading to a re-evaluation of earlier commentary. For the newly discovered manuscript appears to be the version Donne sent to the King upon command, shortly after the sermon was preached.[21] The differences between the manuscript and the printed folio text (Sermon 43 in *Fifty Sermons*, upon which all previous commentary had been founded) are revealing of the subtle ways in which Donne altered his script according to his audience.[22] Comparison of the two texts suggests that Donne expressed himself more precisely and critically in the later printed folio, *after* the death of James, than in the earlier 1622 manuscript.[23] Despite Donne's reticence in the submitted manuscript, however, the King still did not command the sermon to be printed. Why, given James's enthusiastic publication of Donne's September 1622 sermon on the *Directions*, might this have been the case?

One possible answer lies in what is common to both versions of the sermon: namely, a key aspect of Donne's casuistical habit of thought. This aspect is the Perkinsian notion, referred to earlier by Meg Lota Brown, that the specific case is the point of departure for moral arbitration, not simply the example to which authorised criteria are applied. In this instance, the dilemma posed by Donne's treatment of his

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of 1547 and Donne's Sermon in Commemoration of Guy Fawkes' Day, 1622', *South Atlantic Review*, 49.2 (May 1984), 19-30.

[21] A command referred to by Donne in a letter of 1 December 1622 to Sir Thomas Roe. (NA SP 14/134/59.) For the provenance of the manuscript copy, see Jeanne Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1996), pp. 11-14.

[22] The folio text probably stems from the same holograph as the manuscript, but with later revisions. These were most likely to have been made either during the outbreak of plague in 1625, or during Donne's last illness in 1630. See Gosse, II, 225, and the heading of Sermon 71, *LXXX Sermons*.

[23] Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon*, p. 36.

text, Lamentations 4.20,[24] is whether it is always right to uphold the honour of a ruler, even 'of an ill king, of *Zedekiah*'. [IV, 239.] Donne's allusion here to James's unpopular relaxation of anti-Catholic penal laws seems clear. For Donne goes on to refer to 'A Priest that is let out of prison', and the opening and closing of the 'dores' into and in the kingdom: '*The Ports*' and 'The *prisons*'. [IV, 263.] Nevertheless, a number of points are proposed in favour of keeping faith with the monarch. First, that by *iure divino*, the sovereign is symbolically equivalent to the State. [IV, 239.] Second, that princes may be exempted from blame where immoral or incompetent actions can be attributed not to themselves, but to their counsellors.[25] Third, that the King is as steadfast in his loyalty to the English Church as was his predecessor, Elizabeth: 'Their wayes may bee divers, and yet their end the same, that is, The glory of God'. [IV, 254.]

Thus far, it seems that James could have found little reason for demurral. Rather the opposite, for Donne's remarks appear keenly attuned to the imperatives of statecraft: 'Many times a Prince departs from the exact rule of his duty, not out of his own indisposition to truth, and clearnesse, but to countermine underminers.' [IV, 249.] On his 1619 embassy to Germany Donne had witnessed such tactical expediency at first hand, as in the case of Doncaster concealing from the Bohemian deputies the probability that financial aid would not be forthcoming.[26] 'I may bee

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[24] 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits.'

[25] This is the view proposed in MS Royal 17.B.xx, lines 913-14. However, in the revised folio text, Donne appears to be more directly critical of the King himself, adding that the prince may be excusable 'at least, for any cooperation in the evill of the action, though not for countenancing, and authorising an evill instrument; but that is another case.' [IV, 253.]

[26] Donne's continuing engagement with international affairs in 1622 is suggested by his personal ties to the 1622-1623 Dutch embassy to London. In a September 1622 letter to Goodere, Donne refers to 'The

allowed to know something in Civill affaires' [IV, 254], Donne remarks, and thus in clear-eyed fashion he urges his congregation to shape their moral response according to the world as it is, for 'with crafty neighbours, a Prince will be crafty, and perchance false with the false.' [IV, 249.] Lest he seem too eager to pardon a fault, however, Donne finds in Psalm 18.26 scriptural authority for adapting one's moral response to circumstances, when David speaks of God himself: '*Cum perverso pervertêris, With the froward, thou wilt show thy self froward*'. [IV, 249.]

However, the accommodating, worldly tenor of Donne's moral reasoning here also appears to censure royal policy. Volunteer soldiers in Germany are praised for their 'propensenesse and readinesse, to give their lives, for his honour, or for the *possessions of his children*'.[27] Such self-sacrificing heroism is contrasted with the King's seeming indifference: 'That though not *Contra voluntatem*, not against his will, yet *Præter voluntatem*, without any Declaration of his will [...] his Subjects would have given their lives for him.' [IV, 254.] Similarly, the glacial pace of negotiations with Spain draws from Donne a parenthetical cry of impatience, echoing Revelation 6.10. Depicting the King as 'This *foote* of God, he by whom, in his due time [...] God shall tread downe, his owne, and our enemies', Donne implores, 'and *Vsquequo Domine*, How long, O Lord, before that time come?' [IV, 258.][28]

Secretary of the States' (Constantijn Huygens), showing him a letter concerning the 1622 siege of Breda. (*Letters*, p. 231; Gosse, II, 167.)

[27] In the revised folio text, Donne's tribute to the courage of the volunteers is reinforced by the addition of 'readinesse', which is not present in the manuscript version (BL MS Royal 17.B.xx, line 477).

[28] Echoing the same metaphor, of trampling down enemies, found in William Loe's sermon preached to the King less than a month previously: *The Kings Shoe. Made, and Ordained to Treade Down Edomites* (1623). Cf. Robert Willan's far more unequivocally conformist sermon on a similar theme: *Conspiracie against Kings, Heavens Scorne. A Sermon preached at Westminster-Abbey before the Judges, upon the*

In such outbursts of frustration, it may be imagined, lay the grounds for the King's apparent refusal to sanction publication. But for Donne's auditory, his exasperation could only have sharpened their dilemma: duty to conscience or obedience to the King? Instead of offering elaborate rules by which doubts may be resolved, Donne's solution is to 'dramatize the procedures by which consciences themselves may be formed.'[29] Donne's consultative form of casuistry is also marked by its shrewd practicality. For in his sermon's exhortation he urges a religious fidelity to the King: 'Not onley upon your Allegiance to God, but upon your Allegiance to the King, be good: No Prince can have a better guard, then Subjects truly religious.' [IV, 261.] And thus, by collapsing the seeming opposition between religious and civil duty, Donne suggests a way in which, in good conscience, a godly English subject might tolerate the King's policy towards Spain.

Donne's sensitivity to the nature and role of the magisterium in moral adjudication is also much in evidence in a sermon preached just a week later, on 13 November 1622, at the annual feast of the Virginia Company.[30] On this occasion, Donne's exegesis grapples with the task of reconciling his auditory's commercial ambitions in

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fifth of November 1622 (1622), p. 42. 'His Maistie,' stated Willan, 'doeth not open his windowes to the Romane Saints, but toward *Ierusalem* aboue'.

[29] Shami, 'John Donne's Protestant Casuistry', pp. 55-56.

[30] Evidence of Donne's personal interest in the colony extends back to February 1609, and in May 1622 he had been made an honorary member of the Virginia Co. See Chamberlain, *Letters*, I, 284; Harold Cooper, 'John Donne and Virginia in 1610', *Modern Language Notes*, 57 (1942), 661-63; and *Records of the Virginia Co. of London*, ed. by Susan M. Kingsbury, 4 vols (Washington, 1906-35), II, 76-123; III, 65, 80-89.

the New World with their 'missionary' obligation to propagate the word of God.[31] Earlier in the year, a massacre of Virginian settlers by Native Americans had prompted the publication of vengeful pamphlets in London. One of these works, entered into the Stationers' Register on 11 September, was 'A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia' by Christopher Brooke.[32] Brooke's poem argued for the extirpation of Native Americans on the grounds that they did not belong to the company of God's creatures. Whether Donne read or even knew of this poem by his lifelong friend is not known, but Brooke's tone of recrimination nonetheless typified an important strand of popular opinion in late 1622.[33]

It is in such a turbulent public climate that Donne's Virginia Company sermon must be viewed. Earlier, in *Ignatius His Conclave* (1611), Donne had condemned Spanish maltreatment of Native Americans: '*That all which would not bee Christians should bee bondslaves*'.[34] Moreover, in his sermon on Easter Monday 1622, he had insisted that the principal aim of the colonial enterprise was to carry the Gospel abroad: 'a Virginian is thy Neighbour, as well as a Londoner; and all men are in every

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[31] Although Donne's oration has been called the first 'missionary' sermon (Jessopp, *John Donne: Sometime Dean of St Paul's*, p. 148), the evangelical aims of the Virginia Co. were equally clearly stated in earlier addresses: William Symonds, *Virginia. A Sermon Preached at White-Chappel* (1609); William Crashaw, *A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lavvarre* (1610). Patrick Copland also preached on the Christian mission of the Virginia planters, six months prior to Donne, on 18 April 1622: *Virginia's God be Thanked, or, A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Happie Successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare* (1622).

[32] Stanley M. Johnson, 'John Donne and the Virginia Company', *ELH*, 14 (1947), 127-38.

[33] By contrast, the Virginia Co. itself proclaimed its pious intentions in its official declarations: *A True and Sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia* (1610); *A True Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (1610).

[34] *Ignatius His Conclave*, ed. by Timothy Healy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 69.

good mans Diocess, and Parish.' [IV, 110.] Donne's emphasis on the plantation's Christian mission may have been shaped in part by Richard Whitbourne's widely disseminated 1620 tract on Newfoundland, which proposed the 'hope of converting Inhabitants to Christianitie', and which held 'The temporall benefits that may iustly and easily arrive from hence' to be of merely secondary consideration.[35] In his Virginia Company sermon, Donne follows Whitbourne's order of priority, warning against temporal ambitions:

> Beloved in him, whose kingdome, and Ghospell you seeke to advance, in this Plantation, our *Lord* and *Saviour Christ Iesus*, if you seeke to establish a temporall kingdome there, you are not rectified [IV, 269].

Unlike contemporaries such as Brooke, therefore, Donne declined simply to rail against the iniquity of the massacre. Rather, his sermon attempts to plumb the massacre's causes, not just its effects. For, with affective use of the vocative case, Donne reproves the members of the Virginia Co for their lack of evangelical purpose, 'O, if you could once bring a *Catechisme* to bee as good ware amongst them as a bugle, as a knife, as a hatchet'. [IV, 269.] Such tart remarks acquire an even sharper sting when it is heard how they echo the words of a royal proclamation ('Prohibition against disorderly trading to New England') issued a week previously on the 6 November. Seeking to outlaw unregulated commerce, the proclamation condemned promiscuous trading with 'the Savages', for by such barter the natives gained 'swords, pikes, muskets, fowling peeces, match, powder, shot, and other warlike weapons'.[36] Both the proclamation and Donne's sermon imply that temporal ambition itself, in the

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[35] *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, with many reasons to prove how worthy and beneficiall a Plantation may there be made, after a better manner than it was* (1620), pp. 12, 16. The book was distributed in every parish under the archbishops of Canterbury and York.

[36] *By the King. A Proclamation prohibiting interloping and disorderly trading to New England in America. Given at our court at Theobalds, the sixt day of November, 1622.* (BL C.112.h.3.(102.))

form of unrestrained trade, had contributed at least in part to the massacre of the settlers. Having thus stirred the conscience of his auditory, Donne follows the course of both Roman Catholic and Protestant casuists in his parainesis, urging his auditory to moral action: 'take thus much of [t]his labour upon your selves to[o], as to preach to one another by a holy and exemplar life, and a religious conversation.' [IV, 276.]

Nor does the preacher exempt himself from self-examination. For Donne remains acutely aware of the warping effect on religious zeal of ambition:

> *Preachers* that binde themselves alwaies to *Cities* and *Courts*, and *great Auditories*, may learne new Notes; they may become *occasionall* Preachers, and make the emergent affaires of the time, their *Text*, and the humors of the hearers their *Bible*; but they may loose their Naturall Notes, both the *simplicitie*, and the *boldnesse* that belongs to the Preaching of the *Gospell*: both their power upon lowe understandings to raise them, and upon high affections to humble them. [IV, 276.]

In preaching, therefore, as in casuistry, a fine balance was to be struck: attentive to circumstance, certainly, yet never merely serving the times. Or, as Donne remarks, using phrasal doubling to enrich and refine his sense, city and court preachers may become inclined to 'thinke that their errand is but to knocke at the doore, to delight the eare, and not to search the House, to ransacke the conscience.' [IV, 277.] And yet what, in Donne's conception, is the nature of this 'House' of conscience, and how might it be 'ransacked'? For whilst Donne's exhortation to the Virginia Company provides a forceful image, it seems hardly to correspond to his more subtle methods of settling moral doubts, or to accord with his finely-calibrated rhetorical adaptability – his 'just avoiding of an unjust Judgement'. [IX, 156.] The following two sections seek to explore this apparent disjunction: between Donne's stated aim of scouring the conscience, and his actual practice of inducing his auditory to self-examination leading to moral action.

'EVERY MAN MAY KNOW HIS OWN BYAS': DONNE'S ANATOMY OF CONSCIENCE

In the dedicatory epistle to his 1622 sermon on the *Directions*, addressed to Buckingham, Donne spells out the twofold nature of his duty as a preacher (as one who has been commissioned to justify in public a royal edict):

> For the first part of the Sermon, the Explication of the Text, my profession, and my Conscience is warant enough, that I have spoken as the Holy Ghost intended. For the second part, the Application of the Text, it wil be warrant enough, that I have spoken as his Majestie intended [IV, 178-79].

Whilst Donne's Erastian formula appears to have satisfied the royal favourite, nagging questions remain. Could a cleric's duties to king and conscience really be divided so neatly? Weren't spiritual and civil obligations, in fact, knotted together? Alexandra Walsham, in probing the nature of early modern Christian conscience, suggests that writers in the period followed medieval scholastic thinkers in believing that the conscience operated by means of a syllogistic dialogue. This dialogue took place between the *synderesis* (a storehouse of premises and precepts) and the *conscientia* (an active witness which applied these rules to particular cases).[37] Casuistic discretion, therefore, in applying such premises, might usefully be thought of as the *tone* of this dialogue, a tone which in Donne's sermons of 1622-1623 hints at a far more blurred relation between civil and spiritual duties than the clear demarcation set out in the dedication to Buckingham.

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[37] Alexandra Walsham, 'Ordeals of Conscience: Casuistry, Conformity and Confessional Identity in Post-Reformation England', in *Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. by Harald E. Braun and Edward Vallance (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 32-48 (p. 33). For the medieval scholastic tradition of conscience, see T. C. Potts, *Conscience in Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Donne's markedly undeceived moral accent in these sermons appears to stem from a number of personal and historical circumstances. Key biographical factors, I would suggest, were Donne's continuing involvement in the realms of international affairs and law. For in January 1623 Sir Henry Wotton had sent 'a large cipher' from Venice to Sir Albertus Morton in London, 'wherof I must entreat you to consign a fair copy to the Dean of Paules',[38] and the records of the Court of Delegates show Donne's appointment in these years to a number of judicial commissions hearing appeals from lower ecclesiastical courts.[39]

In early 1623, widespread public controversy over the Spanish match may also have impinged on Donne's treatment of conscience. Scepticism regarding the probity of Spanish intentions appears to have been pervasive. John Chamberlain, writing to Dudley Carleton on 4 January 1623, reports that, 'Gondomar is to be sent into Germanie to see the Palatinat restored. You may beleve as much of this as you please. For my part I shalbe Didimus [doubting Thomas] till I see yt.'[40] Allusions to continental conflict, of varying degrees of subtlety, poured from English pulpits. John Squire, in a sermon against idolatry, declared the desire of '*Low-countrey* Souldiers' for 'a *Defensive* rather than an *Offensive* Warre.'[41] William Loe, in a sermon before Prince Charles, exhorted the King to arms on behalf of the Palatinate.[42] Whilst Loe escaped censure (possibly reflecting the greater tolerance of the prince for a militant

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[38] L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), II, 265.

[39] Including Coniers *v.* Sunderland, 29 January 1623 (Del. 8/70, fols 12^{r}, 14^{v}); and Piggott *v.* Corbett, 21 October 1622, and 15 & 22 November 1623 (Del. 4/9, fols 102^{r}, 239^{v}). Bald, pp. 414-16, 542.

[40] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 472.

[41] Squire, *Sermon on the 2nd commandment, St Paul's, 6 Jan 1623* (1624), p. 20.

[42] See BL MS Royal 17.A.xl: *The Kings Sworde. Delivered in a sermon at Whitehall, 14 January, 1622* (1623).

Protestantism, in comparison with James's pursuit of a negotiated peace via the Spanish match),[43] royal sensitivity to criticism remained acute. For instance, a prebend of St Paul's, Dr White, was placed under house arrest for praying to preserve the sovereign and heir from any that should 'withdraw them from their first love and zeal to Religion'.[44]

Evidence of Donne's continuing attention to such matters of controversy comes in a topical allusion in his Christmas 1622 sermon on Colossians 1.19-20 at St Paul's.[45] 'A man must not presently think himselfe included in this peace,' Donne warns, 'because he feeles no effects of this warre.' [IV, 292.] Central to Donne's notion of moral action in such matters is the need for equilibrium between religious ideals and worldly realities. 'Heavenly zeale' must be reconciled with 'the bearing of one anothers infirmities'; 'heavenly liberty' with 'a care, for the preservation of scandal'. But at the same time, in confessional terms, reconciliation had its limits. For, 'If you will mingle a true religion, and a false religion, there is no reconciling of God and Belial in this Text.' [IV, 301.][46]

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[43] Peter McCullough suggests that the 'reforming vigour of [Prince] Henry's household lived on at St James's under Charles'. (*Sermons at Court*, p. 195.)

[44] John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and magnificent festivities of King James I, his royal Consort, and family*, 4 vols (J. B. Nichols, 1828), IV, p. 802.

[45] For discussion of Donne's Christmas sermons in the light of traditional sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Christmas celebrations, see Dayton Haskin, 'John Donne and the Cultural Contradictions of Christmas', *JDJ*, 11.1-2 (1992), 133-57 (p. 135).

[46] Donne also remarks on the endemic divisions *within* Roman Catholicism: on the continent, between Dominicans and Jesuits, and French and Italian papists; and in England, between Jesuits and 'secular priests'. [IV, 302.] For discussion of such splits, see Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. Ch. 2.

A rich notion of the process of moral reasoning, conciliatory yet discerning, is thus instrumental to Donne's approach to liberty of conscience. Ministers, Donne insists, 'must deal upon the *reason* of men, and satisfie that'. [IV, 216.] Forensic yet affective, self-reflective yet responsive to an array of moral duties, obedient to God yet unique to each person – rectified reason, in Donne's scheme, remains anchored by belief: '*Ita est, quia*, It is so, O Father, because thy good pleasure was it should be so.' Thus, Donne distills his formula for rational moral inquiry: 'That reason is not to be excluded in religion, but yet to be tenderly and modestly pressed'. [IV, 285.] Yet what were the categories of conscience to which reason should be so 'tenderly' applied? Donne takes up this question via the theme of man's multiple, conflicting duties, implied by the text of his 1623 Candlemas sermon, Romans 13.7: 'Render therefore to all men their dues'.[47] In his *divisio*, Donne establishes a threefold hierarchy of man's moral debt or duty: 'to God, to our Neighbour, to our selves.' [IV, 304.] Financial and legal terms operate as *leitmotifs* throughout Donne's disquisition, depicting abstract duties in familiar terms. Thus man's debt to God must be paid 'in that money, which his owne Spirit mints, and coynes in thee, and of his own bullion too, praise and thanksgiving.' [IV, 307.] Similarly, in God's justice: 'the Church is his Court of Requests, there he receives our petitions, there we receive his answers.' [IV, 309.] Such analogies suggest that both the principles and procedures of Donne's moral reason – wherein concepts such as conscience and *epikeia* derive from juridical

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[47] For the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, IV, 38-39. In the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549-1604), Candlemas Day is given two names: the Feast of the Purification of St Mary the Virgin, and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. For discussion of the ceremonial observance of Candlemas in the 1620s, see Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, II, 190.

precepts such as equity – owe as much to law as to theology.[48] Indeed, in an earlier sermon Donne draws a direct parallel between the role of clergy in matters of conscience, and that of civilians in law. 'For,' Donne asserts, speaking of Church ministers, 'God refers causes to *them*, and according to their *reports* [...] (as it is *in civill Iudicature*)'. [IV, 222.]

In comparing practical divinity with law Donne echoes Immanuel Bourne's sermon, *The Anatomie of Conscience*, preached on Revelation 20.12 ('And the Bookes were opened, and another book was opened, which is the Booke of Life'). Amplifying his text, Bourne renders St John's vision of final judgement in terms of early seventeenth-century judicial procedure: arraignment, presentation of evidence, examination, judgement, sentence.[49] Indeed, the profusion of courtroom analogies in late Jacobean sermons[50] – not to mention the pervasive legalism of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature as a whole[51] – indicates that Donne's emphasis on due process in cases of conscience was in no way unusual in the period. Where Donne's pulpit oratory may be deemed unique, however, is in the extent and persistence to which such parallels are pursued.

Donne's distinctiveness is also evident in his use of the tripartite anatomy of conscience to offer veiled commentary on current affairs. In the first part of his

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[48] James F. Keenan and Thomas A. Shannon, eds, *The Context of Casuistry* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1995), p. 124.

[49] *The Anatomie of Conscience - At the generall Assises holden at Derby in Lent last 1623* (1623), p. 2.

[50] See, for example, John Hughes, *St Pauls Exercise, or, a Sermon of Conscience* (1622), pp. 14-17; Richard Preston, *The Godly Mans Inqvisition* (1622), p. 2; Samuel Burton, *A Sermon Preached at the Generall Assises in Warwicke, the third of March 1619* (1620), pp. 11-13.

[51] Including extended passages of legal jargon in the works of dramatists such as Lyly, Greene, Chapman, Jonson, Dekker, Heywood, and Massinger.

sermon, regarding man's duty to God, Donne hints at lawyerly corruption concerning patents. For God, unlike man, does not put 'a caveat or præ-non-obstante in his [St Anthony's] monopoly of preserving hoggs'. [IV, 311.] In the first branch of his second part, man's duty to his superiors, Donne seems to reprove Parliament for its failure to vote for royal supply, resulting in the King 'being [...] defrauded of that which is ordinarily due to him'. [IV, 314.] Equally, however, Donne warns against blind obedience to a wicked ruler, for that is 'too transcendent a complement, to be damned for his sake, by concurring with my superiour in his sins.' [IV, 316-17.] The third part of Donne's account of moral duty concerns the debt to 'our selves'. Once again, Donne's accent on self-examination leading to moral action is couched in the language of the law: 'Let thine owne conscience be thine evidence, and thy Rolls, and not the opinion of others'. [IV, 322.][52] Significantly, however, Donne also exhorts his auditory, in pursuing the *propria opinio*, not to disregard the *opinio communis*. For, '*Imprudenter agunt, & crudeliter*, They deale weakly, and improvidently for themselves, in that they assist not their consciences, with more witnesses' [VII, 250]. Moral wisdom may be harvested, too, from patristic and medieval sources, such as Augustine and Tertullian, Aquinas and Bernard. As Joseph Hall remarks in his *Resolutions*:

> A man would do well betwixt two extremes: the careless neglect of our spiritual fathers on the one side, and too confident reliance upon their power on the other. Some there are that do so overtrust their own

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[52] The legal vocabulary is echoed by Immanuel Bourne, for whom the conscience is 'the *Recorder*, the principall secretary to register all our thoughts, our words and actions' (*The Anatomie of Conscience* (1623), pp. 10-11.) For further discussion of Protestant casuistry's emphasis on self-scrutiny, see Slights, 'Notaries, Sponges, and Looking-glasses', p. 235.

> judgement, that they think they may slight their spiritual guides: there can be no safety for the soul but in a midway betwixt both these.[53]

A fortnight after Donne's 1623 Candlemas sermon, Prince Charles and Buckingham, disguised as Tom and Jack Smith, set out for Spain.[54] On the Sunday after their departure, crowds flocked to Paul's Cross to glean the latest news, but Chamberlain reported that, 'the preacher had his lesson in *hæc verba*, only to pray for the Princes prosperous journey and safe return, and the next day the bishop convening all his clergie gave them the same charge'.[55] Given this interdict, it is not surprising that in his Whitehall sermon on the first Friday in Lent, Donne makes no obvious allusion to the headline news. Also off limits, it seems, was the unwelcome report from abroad that the Emperor Ferdinand II had granted the electorate of the Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria.[56]

Nevertheless, Donne's exegesis on John 11.35, 'Iesus wept', does offer practical spiritual counsel to questions of conscience thrown up by such events. For, despite public agitation, Donne warns that, 'It will not be safe for any man to come so neare an excesse of passions, as he may finde some good men in the Scriptures to have done'. [IV, 328.] The instance of Christ's tears is thus to be seen as exceptional, rather than as an exemplar for self-governance, since 'every Christian is not a Christ'. [IV,

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[53] Hall, *Resolutions and Decisions of Divers Practical Cases of Conscience*, Vol. 7 of *Works*, ed. by P. Wynter (1863), p. 354.

[54] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 480 (to Dudley Carleton, 22 February 1623). See also Arthur Wilson, *History of Great Britain, Being the Life & Reign of King James* (1653), p. 225.

[55] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 482. For discussion of the significant portion of published matter in 1623 given over to the Spanish match, see Judith Simmons, 'Publications of 1623', *The Library*, 5th Series, 21.3 (Sept 1966), 207-22 (p. 208).

[56] On 25 February 1623. See James's letter to Charles and Buckingham in Spain. (Bodl. MS Tanner 73, fol. 287.)

329.] And thus, to remain afloat in a sea of high religious and political passions, Donne urges his auditory to self-scrutiny, illustrating the individualised nature of moral frailty via the image of life as game of bowls: 'Every man may know his own Byas, and to what sin that diverts him'. [IV, 328.]

Donne's taxonomy of such personal biases enriches his depiction of conscience. In a May 1623 sermon, preached at Lincoln's Inn, Donne also emphasises the contingent nature of morality: 'And therefore as there are particular sinnes that attend certaine *places*, certaine *ages*, certaine *complexions*, and certaine *vocations*, let us watch our selves in all those'. [IV, 378.] In his sermon at St Paul's on 13 October 1622, Donne had listed four internal obstacles to moral action: '*Conscientiâ dubiâ* [...] *Conscientiâ scrupulosâ* [...] *conscientiâ opinante* [...] *conscientiâ errante*'. [IV, 222.] The same fourfold scheme, termed by Donne the 'diseases of conscience', also appears in an earlier letter to Henry Goodere:

> If in my second religion, friendship, I had a conscience, either *errantem* to mistake good and bad and indifferent, or *opinantem* to be ravished by others opinions or examples, or *dubiam* to adhere to neither part, or *scrupulosam* to encline to one, but upon reasons light in themselves, or indiscussed in me [...][57]

The source for Donne's classification was almost certainly the corresponding categories of conscience laid out in the *Institutiones morales* of the Spanish Jesuit Juan Azor (1533-1603).[58] However, contrary to Azor, the chief concern of Donne's Protestant casuistry lay in the forming and practical resolution of the conscience, not

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[57] Where 'indiscussed' carries the sense of 'insufficiently considered'. Letter probably written in the summer of 1607. (*Letters*, pp. 85-86.)

[58] *Institutiones morales* (Rome, 1600-1611), Pt 1, Bk 2, 22-25. There are frequent references to Azor in *Biathanatos*, *Pseudo-Martyr*, *Ignatius His Conclave*, *Essays in Divinity*, and in the sermons (e.g. IV, 435; IX, 213).

in the elaboration of rules for its operation.[59] For this reason, in *Pseudo-Martyr*, Donne asserts that the Roman casuists:

> have bestowed more paines, to teach how strongly a conscience is bound to doe according to a *Scruple*, or a *Doubt*, or an *Opinion*, or an *Errour*, which it hath conceived, then how it might depose that *Scruple*, or cleare that *Doubt*, or better that *Opinion*, or rectifie that *Errour*.[60]

Attention to Donne's casuistic rhetoric, in the light of domestic divisions over the Palatinate and Spain, may thus shed new light on the manifold ways in which his words were understood. Earlier criticism, such as that by Potter and Simpson, focussed chiefly on the prosodic qualities of Donne sermons, deeming his 1622 Christmas oration as 'not particularly noteworthy'.[61] A different picture emerges, however, when Donne's exegeses are seen as examples of case divinity, applied to the *specific* moral and historical conditions of 1622-1623. Key tenets of Donne's practical theology thus include: the pragmatic application of ethics to experience; the relation of law to circumstances; the value of disputation in discerning right action; the inviolacy of conscience; and the responsibility of each person to adjudicate his or her own conscience. Self-examination and the authorised procedures of law mitigate the 'diseases of conscience', and enable moral choice between conflicting duties. Thus Donne concludes, in his Candlemas sermon:

> And then *reddidisti debita omnibus*, thou shalt have rendered to all their dues, when thou hast given the King, Honour; the poore, almes; thy selfe, peace; and God thy soule. [IV, 323.]

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[59] See Malloch, 'John Donne and the Casuists', p. 73.

[60] *Pseudo-Martyr*, p. 166.

[61] *Sermons*, IV, 38.

PRINCE CHARLES IN THE SPANISH COURT: DONNE AND THE '*AUTORS OF THAT NATION*'

How, then, in the spring of 1623, did Donne set about searching the 'House', or defining the anatomy of conscience in the context of royal foreign policy: namely, the Spanish marriage as a quid pro quo for the recovery of Frederick's electorship? With the arrival of Prince Charles and Buckingham at the Spanish court in Madrid, English and continental Protestant hopes for the restitution of the Palatinate hinged more than ever on the successful brokering of a Stuart-Habsburg match. John Chamberlain wrote in one breath of 'Jacke and Toms journy [*sic*]', and in another, in the same letter, of 'the great losse of the librarie at Heidelberg'.[62] Similarly, newsbooks and English translations of Spanish '*relacions*' provided parallel accounts of events in both Spain and Germany – of the prince's gracious reception by Philip IV, and the simultaneous transfer of Frankenthal to Spanish custody.[63] In London, public appetite for news of the prince in Madrid was considerable – members of Charles's entourage sent Spanish verses home,[64] and English preachers, such as John Rawlinson preaching on Canticles 4.8 ('Come with mee from Lebanon, my Spouse'), alluded to Charles's amorous

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[62] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 484 (to Dudley Carleton, 21 March 1623).

[63] See *A True Relation and Journall of the Manner of the Arrival, and Magnificent Entertainment, given to the High and Mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine by the King of Spain in his Court at Madrid* (1623); and *A Relation of the late Occurrents which haue happened in Christendome, especially at Rome, Venice, Spaine, France, and the vpper Germanie*. No. 27 (21 April 1623).

[64] James Howel, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ* (1645), sig Kk2^{r}, letter to Captain Thomas Porter, 10 July 1623, in which Howel enclosed a quatrain by Lope de Vega, wherein Charles was deemed to be guided by love, '*Al cielo d' España voy / Por ver mi Estrella* Maria'.

adventure abroad.[65] Thus far, however, little has been said concerning Donne's own attitude to the prince's journey to Spain. How familiar was Donne with Spanish thought and culture in the period? And how might such knowledge have influenced Donne's approach to questions of conscience arising from the proposed match?

Amongst Donne's biographers, the dates of his early travels in Spain (and Italy) remain a matter of dispute. Izaak Walton and R. C. Bald argue for 1589 and 1591 respectively; John Sparrow proposes 1594-1596; Dennis Flynn, however, dates Donne's earliest Spanish sojourn to some time in 1585, as part of the retinue of Henry Stanley, Fourth Earl of Derby.[66] A tantalising clue to the extent of Donne's familiarity with Spanish divinity exists in his famous 1623 letter from the deanery of St Paul's, to Buckingham:

> I can thus far make myselfe believe, that I ame where yor Lordship is, in Spaine, that, in my poore Library, where indeed I ame, I can turne mine Ey towards no shelfe, in any profession from the Mistresse of my youth, Poetry, to the wyfe of mine age, Divinity, but that I meet more Autors of that nation, than of any other. Their autors in Divinity, though they do not show us the best way to heaven, yet they thinke they doe: And so, though they say not true, yet they do not ly, because they speake their Conscience.[67]

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[65] In a preface to the printed edition (1625), Rawlinson explained that he had no sooner heard of Charles's 'Amorous Travels' to Spain than he 'fell in travell with that Amatorious Text', but 'not like a busy Statist, or curious Commonwealth-wright'. (*The Bridegroome, and His Bride. Sermon preached before the Lords at Whitehall, March 19, 1622* (Part 4 of *Quadriga Salutis: Foure Quadragesimal or Lent-Sermons*), sig. A2^{v}.)

[66] Walton, *Lives*, pp. 14-15; Bald, pp. 50-52; Sparrow, 'The Date of Donne's Travels', in *A Garland for John Donne 1631-1931*, ed. by Theodore Spencer (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 123-51; Flynn, *John Donne & the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 170-71.

[67] Gosse, II, 176 (cf. Bodl. MS Tanner 73, fol. 305).

Donne's grudging praise here for the scruples of Spanish divines is in marked contrast to the earlier polemics of *Pseudo-Martyr*, reflecting, perhaps, changed political realities. Nevertheless, Walton testifies to Donne's knowledge of Spanish, and Evelyn Simpson remarks that Donne had a 'very considerable acquaintance with the theological works of a number of Spanish Jesuits and Dominicans who wrote on theology and Canon Law.' Simpson also refers to 'a close kinship of tone and spirit between Donne's earlier poems and those of Góngora'.[68] Common ground has also been found in the caustic neo-Stoicism of Donne's satires and those of his Spanish contemporary Francisco de Quevedo; and in the '*conceptista*' approach taken by both Donne and Lope de Vega. Aside from his reading, Donne's biography affords further glimpses of his connexions with Spain. A Spanish motto – '*Antes muerto que mudado*' – 'Rather dead than changed', adorns Isaac Oliver's 1591 Tudor portrait miniature of Donne.[69] The motto derives from Jorge de Montemayor's pastoral romance *Diana Enamorada* (1552), leading Edmund Gosse to claim that Donne was familiar with Montemayor's work. It has also been argued that parts of the

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[68] Walton, *Lives*, p. 16. Simpson, 'Donne's Spanish Authors', *Modern Languages Review*, 43 (1948), 182-85 (pp. 184-85). Simpson lists forty Spanish divines read or cited by Donne, chiefly in his works of controversial theology. However, the only surviving book written in Spanish in Donne's extant library is Geronimo Grácian's *Iosephina* (Brussels, 1609), a religious treatise on the virtues of St Joseph. See J. A. Muñoz Rojas, 'Un libro español en la biblioteca de Donne', *Revista de Filología Española*, 25 (1942), 108-11. For literary connexions between Donne, Góngora, Quevedo and Paravicino, I am indebted to Carmen Wheatley's unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 'Donne and Spanish Literature' (1985), *passim*. For other relevant critical works, see my bibliography, pp. 332-39.

[69] Judith M. Kennedy, ed., *A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's 'Diana'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 1-3. For discussion of the significance of this motto to Donne's Catholic heritage, see Flynn, *John Donne & the Ancient Catholic Nobility*, p. 2, n. 2.

'Anniversaries' 'read as free translations of Montemayor's *Canto de Orpheo*'.[70] An undated Donne letter to Sir Robert Ker also contains a reference to the Spanish author:

> I beginne to bee past hope of dying: And I feele that a little ragge of *Monte Magor*, which I read last time I was in your Chamber, hath wrought prophetically upon mee, which is, that Death came so fast towards mee, that the over-joy of that recovered mee.[71]

Similarities may also be found in the '*cultista*', or conceited, homiletic styles of both Donne and the Trinitarian Fray Hortensio Felix Paravicino (1580-1633), poet and court preacher to Philip III and IV. The sermons of both Donne and Paravicino are characterised by what the seventeenth-century Italian rhetor, Tesauro, calls the '*concetti predicabili*', or metaphysical wit: 'a vestige of the Deity in the human mind'. Many of the qualities of Paravicino's pulpit oratory, derived from the sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit revival of patristic wit, may also be found in Donne's *elocutio*: '*paralelismos*, *antítesis*, *paranomasias*, *tropos*'.[72] Whilst there is no direct evidence that Donne knew of Paravicino's work, Donne does refer on several occasions to a common source, the Dominican theologian and advocate of patristic learning, Melchior Cano (1509-1560).[73] Several references are also made by Donne to

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[70] Gosse, II, 177-78; Baird W. Whitlock, 'Donne's University Years', *English Studies*, 43 (1962), 1-20 (p. 7).

[71] *Letters*, p. 299.

[72] S. L. Bethell, 'Gracián, Tesauro and the Nature of Metaphysical Wit', *Northern Miscellany of Literary Criticism*, 1 (1953), 19-40 (p. 25); Emilio Alarcos, 'Los Sermones de Paravicino', *Revista de Filología Española*, 24 (1938), 262-97 (p. 276). See also, E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 7th edn (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 292-301.

[73] *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by A. Raspa, pp. 92-93; *Sermons*, IV, 272, n. 408; VII, 186; VIII, 191.

Paravicino's fellow Trinitarian, Escalante, who taught in Seville around 1612.[74] This suggests that Donne may at least have known something of Paravicino by repute.

It is against the backdrop of Charles's journey to Spain that Donne delivered his sermons of spring and summer 1623. On Easter Sunday, Donne preached at St Paul's on Acts 2.36,[75] drawing from his text a lesson on oratorical decorum. St Paul is proposed as a model preacher: 'He is civill, but his civility doth not amount to a flattery'. A middle ground is thus sought between sycophancy and subversion: 'It is one thing to sow pillows under the elbows of Kings, (flatterers do so) another thing to pull the chaire from under the King, and popular and seditious men do so.' [IV, 348.] In elaboration of this theme, Donne refers to Geronimo Grácian, 'a vulgar Spanish Author, who writes the *Iosephina*, the life of *Ioseph*'. [IV, 347.] Donne cites with approval Grácian's remark that the Virgin is 'never called by any style of Majesty, or Honor in the Scriptures', except by the name 'The Mother of God'. For if the Virgin had been bestowed with extra titles, Donne argues, then 'the Holy Ghost had not been a good Courtier, (as his very word is) nor exercised in good language'. [IV, 347.] In Donne's copy of *Iosephina*, now in the British Library, two of Donne's characteristic pencil marks, one vertical and one sloping graphite dash, are placed in the margin directly next to the phrases mentioned in Donne's sermon text:

> Vna excellencia [entre otras] tiene Maria, y es, que los Euangelistas Sagrados escriven della muy pocas palabras: llaman la madr de Iesus, sin particularizar otros titulos, y renombres. Hizieron esto como discretos cortesanos.[76]

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[74] *Sermons*, IV, 356; X, 387-401.

[75] 'Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Iesus, who ye have crucified, both Lord, and Christ.'

[76] *Iosephina* (1609), Prologue, sig. A1^{v}.

Thus Donne, via Grácian, finds courtliness in scriptural eloquence, and so proposes that 'this manner [is] necessary in men of our profession; *Not to break a bruised reed, nor to quench smoaking flaxe*'. [IV, 348.]

As well as serving his homiletic purpose of tempering religious zeal, Donne's reference to Grácian also seems calculated to show off his knowledge of Spanish learning. For, in 1623, such erudition may well have lent a certain cachet, at a time when, as the French ambassador to England put it, 'the whole court is Spanish'.[77] Despite catering to fashion, Donne's remarks nonetheless contain barely-concealed barbs regarding the court's sudden conversion to Hispanophilia. For at a time when hopes for the proposed marriage hinged chiefly on the grant of a papal dispensation,[78] Donne's sermon inveighs against the notion of supreme papal authority, asking 'what is more singular, more schismaticall, then when all Religion is confined in one mans breast?' [IV, 349.]

In the second part of his sermon, Donne's focus shifts from differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant Church government, to differences in the nature of belief. Here once again, Donne presents belief as the apotheosis of reason: 'our arguments for the Scripture are humane arguments, proportioned to the reason of a naturall man.' [IV, 351.] As in many of Paravicino's sermons, Donne's amplification of this idea deploys a sensuous medium to incarnate the non-sensuous world of spirit. Adopting a metaphor from St Cyril, Donne refers to human reason as sealing wax, and to God in the image of the seal of faith:

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[77] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (Secker & Warburg, 1992), p. 39.

[78] For an account of the form of marriage agreed to by the pope, *verba de præsenti*, and the twenty-four articles or conditions imposed, see Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, pp. 212-14.

> God does not seale in water, in the fluid and transitory imaginations, and opinions of men; we never set the seale of faith to them; But in Waxe, in the rectified reason of man, that reason that is ductile, and flexible, and pliant, to the impressions that are naturally proportioned unto it, God sets to his seale of faith. [IV, 351.][79]

Belief and rectified reason, therefore, are depicted not as contrary, but as complementary. The precise nature of this relation is central to the workings of Donne's practical divinity. For faith and reason are seen to inform one another – conjoined, yet distinct, like the leaves and cover of a book: 'They are not continuall, but they are contiguous, they flow not from one another, but they touch one another, they are not both of a peece, but they enwrap one another, Faith and Reason.' [IV, 351.]

In the affective realm, Donne finds an even more complete conceptual union. Spiritual states such as sorrow and joy are not merely adjacent to one another, but coterminous. 'To conceive true sorrow and true joy, are things not onely contiguous, but continuall; they doe not onely touch and follow one another in a certaine succession, Joy assuredly after sorrow, but they consist together, they are all one'. Characteristically, Donne finds an etymological basis for this coequality. For according to the 'Grammaticall note of a Jesuit', Franciscus Mendoza, the Latin verb *cantare* in the Vulgate, may, from its Hebrew root, equally be rendered as *plorare*, to weep. [IV, 343.][80] In similar fashion, Donne's focus on contiguity and continuity also

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[79] Other examples using the wax and seal figure can be found in *Sermons*, VI, 159, and VII, 95. In his 28 February 1623 Whitehall sermon, Donne declares that 'the Holy Ghost loves to work in Waxe, and not in Marble' [IV, 340], reflecting the continuity of his thinking in this period, as well as his recycling of useful material. For discussion of Donne's possible reuse of sermon passages on different occasions, see P. G. Stanwood, 'John Donne's Sermon Notes', *RES*, n.s. 29.115 (1978), 313-20; and I. A. Shapiro, 'Donne's Sermon Dates', *RES*, n.s. 31.121 (1980), 54-56.

[80] Franciscus Mendoza (1572-1626), Portuguese Jesuit. (*Sermons*, X, 396.)

informs his Augustinian *extraduce* concept of the soul's coexistence with the body.[81] Contrary to the *ex nihilo* view of the soul's creation, held by scholastics such as Hugo St Victor and Peter Lombard, Donne insists on the union of flesh and spirit. Donne remarks that they think 'it is enough to constitute a man, that there be a soul and body, though that soul and body be not united; but still it is the union that makes the man'. [IV, 332.][82] Such conjoining of seeming opposites – faith and reason, sorrow and joy, body and soul – abounds in both Donne and Paravicino. Nicholas of Cusa's *De Docta Ignorantia* provides a template for such yoking together of contraries in his definition of God as the '*coincidentia oppositorum*'. Earlier classical, biblical, and patristic sources for Donne's paradoxical sense include Cicero's '*Vita mors est*', the Beatitudes, and Tertullian's '*Certum est, quia impossible est*'. In Donne's sermons, such riddles, by acknowledging and defusing scepticism, stimulate moral reason, augment self-knowledge, and form and then reinforce the conscience.[83] On this basis, Donne distinguishes between the 'understanding' believer, whose faith is sealed in the wax of rectified reason, and the unquestioning adherent, who rests in an 'imaginary faith'. The difference between the two types of belief is illustrated by one of Donne's

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[81] A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology* (Pickering & Inglis, 1956), pp. 494-97.

[82] On this passage, Coleridge remarks that, 'Donne was a poor Metaphysician', adding, 'Had Donne but once asked himself what he meant by the Body, as distinct from the carcase, he must have detected the fallacy, the mischievous fallacy, of this reasoning. It is not Soul + Body = Man, as Brandy + Water = Toddy; but the Unity, Man, that is Soul and Body as the + and – Poles of the same Magnet.' ('John Donne', in *Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Roberta F. Brinkley (Durham: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 190, 198-99.)

[83] The use of patristic wit and paradox is also encouraged by Spanish manuals on the *artes prædicandi*, such as Ximenez Paton's *El Perfecto Predicador* (Baera, 1602), and Fray Luis de Granada's *Ecclesiasticæ Rhetorica* (1576, and 3 more editions outside Spain by 1610).

favoured martial images, hinting once more at the recent surrender of garrison towns in the Palatinate:

> The implicite beleever stands in an open field, and the enemy will ride over him easily; the understanding beleever, is in a fenced town, and he hath out-works to lose, before the town be pressed [IV, 351].

Donne's siege metaphor also reflects, perhaps, a wider public scepticism regarding Charles's Spanish adventure. In a letter to Goodere, Donne reports drily of Gondemar that, 'the now Spa[nish] Embassadour proceeds in the old pace', regardless of James's appointment of a special Privy Council commission to treat with him. Donne's letter also indicates Spain's lack of genuine interest in a successful conclusion to the match, 'for I know you have heard *Olivarez* his free acknowledgement, that til the Prince came, there was no thoght [*sic*] of it.'[84]

Donne's friendship with James Hay, by now Earl of Carlisle, may well have provided him with up-to-date news regarding the planned marriage.[85] In April Hay had joined the British party in Madrid; in June he had planned for the possible arrival of the Infanta Maria at Southampton; and in August he had been appointed 'to marshal the Train of the Ambassadors (Spanish) in this day's hunting.'[86] Perhaps table talk with Hay only confirmed Donne in his view, expressed to Goodere, that even James himself had little hope of his son's success. For through the dispatches of his diplomats the King had 'enlarged the Prince in his liberty, from his Father, to come away, if he would.'[87] Recent scholarship, too, supports the view that the prince's trip to Spain was not chiefly undertaken to provide a political solution to the fate of the

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[84] *Letters*, p. 83; Bald, p. 448.

[85] Evidence of Donne's continuing friendship with Hay comes in his letter to Goodere: 'and I am going into the Coach with my Lo. to *Hanworth*.' (*Letters*, p. 84.)

[86] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 492.

[87] *Letters*, p. 83.

Palatinate. Instead, less strategic considerations may have played a larger role: 'a young man's infatuation, a father's indulgence, and a favourite's determination to carve a position for himself in a new reign.'[88]

In his letter to Goodere, Donne confesses his bemusement at the state of affairs: 'Amongst all the irregularities of this age, to me this is as strange as any, That this year there is no peace, and yet no sword drawn in the world; & it is a lost conjecture to think which way any of the Armies will bend.'[89] However, in Donne's sermon at the dedication of the new Lincoln's Inn chapel, on 22 May, a slightly sharper tone may be heard. Preaching on John 10.22,[90] Donne quietly, but pointedly, chides those of his auditory too avidly preoccupied with events both in Madrid and in Rome.[91]

> The word of *God*, is beyond Sea, the true word, truly preached in many true *Churches* there, but yet we have it here, within these Seas too; *God* is in Heaven, but yet hee is here, within these walles too. [IV, 369.]

It also seems likely that Donne is punning here on 'Sea' and the 'See' of Rome; for in a Lincoln's Inn sermon of late 1620, Donne had played on the same homophone for satirical effect: 'The bottomlesse and boundlesse Sea of Rome'. [III, 185.][92] However,

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[88] Glynn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 5. Redworth's research draws on Spanish documents in the British Library, and on work by German and Italian scholars in the Vatican archives. It supplements, therefore, S. R. Gardiner's earlier study based chiefly on the Habsburg state archive in Simancas, *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, 1617-1623*, 2 vols (1869).

[89] *Letters*, pp. 83-84.

[90] 'And it was at Ierusalem, the feast of the dedication; and it was winter; and Jesus walked in the temple in Salomons Porch.'

[91] At this time, attention in Madrid was fixed on Charles's expectation of a letter of dispensation from the pope. The papal nuncio delivered the missive on 28 May. (*The Popes Letter to the Prince, In Latine, Spanish, and English* (1623).)

[92] As well as in numerous other instances: III, 219; VII, 398; VIII, 162; IX, 209.

in May 1623, Donne's wordplay also acquired urgency in the light of concurrent events. For on 30 May, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that, 'About this day sevenight the Spanish ambassador laide the foundation or first stone of the chappell that is to be built at St. James for the Infanta.'[93] Thus, Donne's exhortation to his Lincoln's Inn congregation appears to warn of Catholic distractions both near and far: not only to those a thousand miles to the south, but also to those just a half a mile to the west.

Puns, hints, and paradox – used to prompt, cajole, and niggle – hardly constitute the 'ransack' of conscience. Yet it was by such rhetorical means that Donne sought to induce moral self-scrutiny in his auditory, and to perform an advisory role in matters of the spirit, akin to 'a *Physician* for the state of your body, or with a *Lawyer* for your Lands'. [IV, 223.] To godly preachers, such as Thomas Scott or Thomas Sutton, the perils of papistry demanded a more outspoken style: 'It may bee, some thinke, that (like the old *Romanes*) we have clipt the wing of peace, that shee doates upon us, and dandles our kingdome in her lap: but, where Iezable begins to paint herself, and to multiply her fornications, can wee look for peace?'[94] Yet, through a skein of fine distinctions and caveats – what Camille Slights has called the 'proliferation of exceptions and qualifications' of case divinity – Donne still mounted stealthy raids on the 'House' of conscience, whilst managing to avoid censure for improper public speech.[95]

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[93] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 500 (cf. BL MS Birch 4174, fol. 291[r]).

[94] Sutton, *The Good Fight of Faith, at St Marys-Acts, 19 June 1623* (1624), p. 16.

[95] Slights, *The Casuistical Tradition in Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert and Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 63.

Such deftness in Donne's treatment of controversial matters can be seen in two sermons preached at St Paul's in mid-1623. In the first, preached on Whitsunday on Matthew 12.31,[96] Donne's address may usefully be viewed in light of increasing evidence from Spain that the marriage talks were being undermined by Buckingham's undue influence and seemingly limitless ability to cause offence. Olivarez detested James's favourite, Philip IV was affronted, and the Earl of Bristol was driven to write to James himself to complain.[97] Even those in London with no ideological objections to an Anglo-Spanish match, such as Ben Jonson, were moved to militancy by the humiliating spectacle of Buckingham's handling of affairs.[98] Given this prevailing public mood, Donne's account in his Whitsunday sermon of the corruption of the nobility and the need for good governance takes on a sharper topical relevance.

> In a great Schisme of Rome, *Ladislaus* tooke that occasion to debauch and corrupt some of the Nobility; It was discerned; and then, to those seven Governors, whom they had before, whom they called *Sapientes*, Wise men, they added seven more, and called them *Bonos*, Good men, honest men, and relied, and confided in them. [V, 95.][99]

A continuing thread of such criticism of corrupt counsel may also be found in Donne's sermon preached upon one of the penitential psalms, Psalm 6.8-10, 'Depart

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[96] On blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. For the dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, V, 6-7; and Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, p. 156, n. 30.

[97] BL MS Harley 389, fol. 44[r]. See also Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution*, p. 86.

[98] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 211.

[99] Other sermons decrying court corruption in mid- to late-1623 include Joseph Hall, *The Best Bargaine. A Sermon preached at the Court at Theobalds. On Sunday 21, 1623* (1623), esp. pp. 10-11; and Thomas Jackson, *An Helpe to the Best Bargaine* (1624), preached on 26 October 1623 in Canterbury Cathedral.

from me, all ye workers of iniquitie'.[100] This address may be dated to between March and September 1623 on the strength of closely corresponding passages in both the sermon and a letter written by Donne to Sir Robert Ker in Spain. In the letter, Donne expresses his impatience with Spanish prevarication: 'They have hotter daies in *Spain* than we have here, but our daies are longer; and we are hotter in our businesse here, and they are longer about it there.' Donne distinguishes between 'our noble and vehement affections' and 'their warie and sober discretions', and goes further, to make his most explicit surviving remark concerning antipathy towards the Spanish match. For though, on a flat map east and west may meet, Donne observes, north and south may never do so. 'There are things in which we may, and in that wherein we should not, my hope is in God, and in Him, in whom God doth so evidently work, we shall not meet, *Amen.*'[101]

Amplifying his text, Donne's exegesis recounts the history of David's employment of '*Ioab* in such services, as that he [David] stood in feare of him, and indured at his hands that behaviour, and that language'. For the existence of David's written instruction to Joab, for the murder of Uriah, had led to the king's misery, that 'he cannot discharge himselfe of that servant when he will'. Anxious, no doubt, to avoid royal displeasure Donne is at pains to emphasise that 'we put this example in a Court [...] Because the Text invited us, commanded, and constrained us to do so'. [VI, 44.] Yet Donne's oblique allusion to Buckingham's high place in the King's

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[100] For discussion of Donne's writing in relation to the predominantly Catholic devotional exercise of the penitential psalms, see Roman Dubinski, 'Donne's Holy Sonnets and the Seven Penitential Psalms', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 10.2 (1986), 201-16; and Paul Stanwood, 'Donne's Earliest Sermons and the Penitential Tradition', in *John Donne's Religious Imagination*, ed. by Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances Malpezzi, pp. 66–84.

[101] *Tobie Mathews*, p. 306; Gosse, II, 191; Bald, p. 447.

business and affections remains. Moreover, Donne goes further, to cite the advice of the Greek historian Polybius to 'great persons' concerning their counsel:[102]

> But yet when great Persons trust servants with such secret actions, as may bring them into contempt at home, or danger abroad, by those vices, if they should be published, they cannot come when they would, to this *Discedite, Depart from me all ye workers of iniquity*. [VI, 44.]

Donne's final extant sermon of 1623 was preached on All Saints' Day at St Paul's, on Revelation 7.2-3.[103] Whilst appropriate to its liturgical occasion, in November 1623 the text's concern with the Day of Judgement also seemed chosen to echo renewed religious hostility towards Spain. For on 5 October, a surge of popular celebration had welcomed Charles home, safely delivered from the Spanish court in Madrid.[104] Godly fervour had been heightened still further, on 26 October, when eighty-one spectators were killed by the collapse of a theatre at Blackfriars in which English Catholics were worshipping.[105] Many English Protestants saw in the collapse

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[102] Donne also refers to Polybius (203?-120? BC) in a later sermon on the day of St Paul's conversion 1629. [VIII, 325.]

[103] The same text from Revelation had given him the opening lines of 'Holy Sonnet VII': 'At the round earths imagin'd corners, blow / Your trumpets, Angells, and arise, arise'. (*Poems*, pp. 343.) For dating of this sermon, see *Sermons*, X, 6.

[104] *The Joyful Returne of the Most Illustrious Prince Charles, Prince of Great Brittaine, From the Court of Spaine* [...] *landing at Portsmouth, on 5 October, stil. veteri* (1623). Broadside ballads captured the almost ecstatic public mood that met the prince on his safe return, at which 'Some for mere joy, burning their whole estate; / That Brittaines Prince might not mind them ingrate'. *The high and mighty Prince Charles, prince of Wales and Cornwall. The manner of his arrivall at the Spanish court* (1623). (Bodl. MS Firth C. 23 (68).) See also Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England*, ed. by R. Cust and A. Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 107-33.

[105] Camden, *Diary, 1618-1623*, 26 October 1623; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 520-21.

a dramatic vindication of their cause in the ongoing international struggle.[106] Militant Protestant hopes reached their apogee when, on 20 November, the Earl of Bristol was commanded by Charles not to deliver his proxy agreement to the marriage; and 'hereupon all was dashed in pieces, and that frame which was rearing so many year, was ruin'd in a moment.'[107]

It is not surprising, therefore, that Donne should adjust the tone of his November 1623 sermon to suit both the apocalyptic character of his text, and the recent turn of events. In place of a modest pressing of conscience, Donne now calls for a more evangelical assault on moral reason through assiduous and pertinent preaching. For, he declares, 'it becomes us, the Ministers of God, by all these loud voices, of catechizing, of preaching, of writing, to cry, and to cry'. [X, 61.] In the same forceful vein Donne dismisses the hopes of 'alterations and tolerations' held by 'waking dreamers' (recusant Catholics and church papists): 'howsoever the slumbring of capitall laws, and reason of State may suffer such mistakers to flatter themselves'. [X, 60.] Rhetorical devices such as epanalepsis accelerate the tempo of Donne's explication, 'a miserable deification, a miserable godhead [...] a miserable eternity' [X, 53]; and Tacitean brevity commands assent: 'God hath made thee his own Image, and afforded thee meanes of salvation: Use them. God compels no man.' [X, 63.] As in his earlier, cautious allusion to the harmful influence of Buckingham, so now in his more direct exhortation to religious obedience – Donne shapes homiletic theme and rhetorical style in the form best suited to edification in each sermon's immediate political context.

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[106] See Alexandra Walsham, '"The Fatall Vesper": Providentialism and Anti-Popery in late Jacobean London', *Past and Present*, 144 (August, 1994), 36-87.

[107] Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and magnificent festivities of King James I*, p. 943.

Through examining Donne's sermons in their specific preaching occasions, a picture of his Anglican concept of conscience – attuned to the exigencies of political and religious conflict, as well as to those of place, liturgy, and auditory – begins gradually to emerge. Rooted in a Thomist notion of rectified reason, and in conformity to those means of salvation authorised by the English Church, the flexible form and casuistic workings of Donne's notion of conscience are above all practical rather than normative. Minutely adaptive to the details of each case, molten rather than aqueous, the type of moral reason that we find in Donne's sermons is thus far from merely being determined, as some critics have suggested, by a priori factors of theological doctrine, or political interest. Rather, by drawing on the principles and methods of both Roman Catholic and Protestant case divinity, Donne's exegeses seek to effect a worldly yet ethical accommodation, in each individual conscience, of the frequently competing duties to God, man, and self.

The final chapter continues to examine the practical nature of Donne's later adjudicative exegesis in the years 1624-1631; it focusses on the influence on Donne's scriptural exposition of his public role as judge at law, in the Court of Delegates and on High Commissions. More broadly, it also considers Donne's changing view of the relations between English and continental Protestant Churches after the outbreak of war with Spain in 1624 and the accession of Charles I in 1625.

6. 'Sic Locquimini, So Speak Ye': Donne as Judge at Law, 1624-1631

'WHY DO WE GOE TO LAW TOGETHER?': DONNE AS JUDGE IN THE APPELLATE COURTS

John Donne's career as a judge in the higher Church courts is well documented but not widely acknowledged. R. C. Bald observes that, 'it is not generally realized [...] how often, after he [Donne] became Dean, he had to act in a judicial capacity.'[1] Court records in the National Archives, however, show that between 1622 and 1631 Donne sat on as many as twenty-five occasions as a judge-delegate (and was appointed to sit in at least ten further hearings) in the High Court of Delegates, Court of High Commission and on various Church commissions of appeal or arbitration.[2] In the same period Donne's name is also interlined on at least fourteen occasions in lists of Justices of the Peace in the counties of Kent and Bedford.[3] Donne himself, in a 1627 sermon, refers to service in both the temporal and spiritual courts: 'Thou maist

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[1] Bald, p. 414. Donne's earliest biographers, Izaak Walton and Augustus Jessopp, are silent on his *ex officio* appointment as judge in the ecclesiastical courts. Edmund Gosse makes only fleeting mention of Donne's part in a 1629 Church commission. (Gosse, II, 262-63.)

[2] For the dates of Donne's judicial appointments see my Appendix III. Court records in the National Archives include Act and Repertory Books and sentences from the Court of Delegates, and extant reports of cases in the Court of High Commission. (Noted by Bald, p. 414; and Louis Knafla, 'Mr Secretary Donne: The Years with Sir Thomas Egerton', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, p. 68.)

[3] NA C193/12/2, fol. 1; and 13/1, fols 6, 53. Donne was listed for two of the counties in which he held livings: Kent (Sevenoaks) and Bedfordshire (Blunham). The assize records for Kent, however, suggest that Donne's appointments as JP were honorary in nature, and that he was not expected to attend assizes. (J. S. Cockburn, ed., *Calendar of Assize Records: Kent, Indictments, James I* (HMSO, 1980), pp. 145, 159; *idem*., ed., *Calendar of Assize Records: Kent, Indictments, Charles I* (HMSO, 1995), pp. 2, 11, 24, 34, 47, 59, 72, 87, 99, 113, 127.)

have a Commission too; In that of the Peace, in that for Ecclesiasticall causes, thou maist have a part.' [VII, 443.]

Given the frequency with which Donne sat as judge at law in the ecclesiastical courts in 1624-1631, this chapter explores ways in which the character of Donne's pulpit oratory of these years reflects his *practical* judicial service – hearing testimony, weighing evidence, declaring sentence. Courtroom terms and analogies – concerning judgement (*sententia*), legal argument (*ratio*), and 'likely opinion, or conjecture' (*opinio*) [VII, 343] – are strewn throughout Donne's sermons of this period. Often they serve to illustrate theological abstractions such as the qualities of divine justice and mercy; just as frequently they serve as vehicles for Donne's veiled commentary on contentious matters of Church and State: the marriage of Prince Charles to Henrietta Maria in 1625; war with Spain (and later with France) from 1625 to 1630; the doctrinal and political fracture in the English Church arising from the 1626 York House conference; and ongoing confessional and constitutional conflict in mainland Europe – 'these noiseful Wars of our Neighbors'. [VI, 354.][4] Donne's letters of these years – whether to British ambassadors abroad such as Sir Thomas Roe, or to Princess Elizabeth in her court-in-exile in The Hague – offer further evidence of his continuing interest in foreign affairs.[5] In seeking to shed further light on Donne's careful allusion to such affairs via legal analogy, the first part of the chapter aims to show how Donne's adjudicative exegesis reflects the types of cases on which he sat as judge-delegate: testamentary, defamation, matrimonial, and property. The second part considers facets of substantive civil law (*jus*) and civilian procedure (*judicium*) – of

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[4] In Germany, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, Hungary and Transylvania. (Parker, pp. xxx-xxxiv.)

[5] For letters to Roe, see NA SP 97/10/257 and 97/11/257; for letters to Elizabeth, see *Tobie Mathews*, pp. 296-97, 298-99, 304-5.

which Donne gained first-hand experience in the course of his judicial duties – that appear to be incorporated in the exegeses of his Caroline sermons. These include a graduated standard of legal proof, the obligation to witness in one's own defence, and the divine basis of positive law. The third part focusses on Donne's final sermons in 1629-1630, and aims to show the continuing link between his depiction of a just yet equitable concept of Christian conscience – rooted in a Thomist logic attuned to philology – and Donne's constant service as a jurist in these years.

Frequently in his sermons of 1624-1631, Donne draws close parallels between the duties of churchman and judge. In his 1627 Christmas oration at St Paul's, for example, Donne asks whether he himself is sufficiently qualified to perform the roles of both jurist and prelate:

> *Quis ego? What am I?* where have I studied and practised sufficiently before, that I should fill such or such a place of Judicature? *Quis Ego? What am I?* where have I served, and laboured, and preached in inferiour places of the Church, that I should fill such or such a place of Dignity or prelacy there? [VIII, 141.]

In other sermons, Donne draws attention to particular duties common to both preacher and judge, including public speech [VIII, 179] and the execution of religious and secular law [VII, 425]. Furthermore, here, as elsewhere, Donne draws a telling comparison between the unfitness of both the judge and the priest with the unpreparedness of the emissary: 'except God doe somewhat for me before I goe, I shall be very unfit to goe: And that any Ambassadour may say to his Prince'. [VIII, 140.]

In terms of Donne's personal involvement in court proceedings, his earliest experience had come as a litigant and witness. In 1602 Donne had launched a suit to

test the validity of his marriage to Ann More in the Court of Audience of Canterbury;[6] in 1618 he had made depositions as a witness in a matrimonial case in Chancery, brought against the Earl of Bridgewater;[7] and in 1622 Donne had brought a suit against Henry Seyliard in the Court of Delegates regarding Seyliard's claim to the benefice of Keyston.[8] Roger Tisdale's 1622 dedication to Donne of a poem entitled 'The Lawyers Philosophy' also corroborates Richard Corbet's later depiction of Donne as a man of law.[9]

Both the Court of Delegates and the Court of High Commission, in which Donne sat as judge, were appellate courts.[10] Both courts had Church business as their primary concern, and the same persons were often to be found exercising jurisdiction under both types of commission.[11] In part, Donne's frequent attendance at hearings in these courts was due to the relative proximity of St Paul's deanery to the Doctors'

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[6] Bald, p. 139; E. Le Comte, 'The Date of Donne's Marriage', *Etudes Anglaises*, 21 (1968), and 22 (1969).

[7] The second son and heir of Sir Thomas Egerton. (Bald, pp. 332-35.) Donne's deposition at NA C24/448, Pt 1. The case shows Donne in contact with many lawyers known to him from Lincoln's Inn: Sir Randolph Crewe, Sir Thomas and Sir Urian Leigh, John Jeffreys, John and William Phillip.

[8] Bald, pp. 386-88; NA Del. 8/70, fol. 8^{v}, and Del. 4/9, fols 4, 10, 18.

[9] *The Lawyers Philosophy, or, Law Brought to Light* (1622). Tisdale alludes to his earlier acquaintance with Donne and members of Lincoln's Inn in the poem's dedication: 'To your friends I was heretofore bound in dutie, and (in our youthfull societie) to your selfe in love.' (Sigs $A3^{v}$-$A4^{r}$.)

[10] For the origins of these courts, see G. I. O. Duncan, *The High Court of Delegates* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 220-22; and R. G. Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (1913), pp. 252-53.

[11] Usher, *High Commission*, p. 311. The four sources of appellate jurisdiction in the Court of Delegates were the ecclesiastical courts (including the Court of Arches, Court of Audience, and Prerogative Court), the Court of Admiralty, the university courts and the Court of Chivalry.

Commons, the Consistory Court, and the Bishop's Palace.[12] Occasionally, Donne also sat on special ad hoc commissions, such as a July 1628 inquiry into the proceedings of a Prerogative Court of Canterbury.[13] In this case, as in the Court of Delegates and High Commission, Donne sat with bishops, judges, chancery masters and civilians.[14] Whilst the higher Church judiciary was broadly conformist in its religio-political outlook, distinct political and doctrinal factions can be identified. The civilians Sir John Lambe and Sir James Whitelocke, for instance, were associated through patronage with anti-Calvinist Durham House clerics such as William Laud, Richard Neile and John Buckeridge; whilst jurists such as Thomas Westfield and Henry Marten tended more towards the moderate theological Calvinism associated with Thomas Morton and James Ussher.[15] That Donne maintained good working relations with his fellow judges is suggested by his frequent appointment to the bench in important cases, although it is also true that much of the legal work Donne undertook in the higher Church courts was *ex officio*. Nevertheless, the fact that in June 1629 Donne was the sole dean included in a committee of conciliation and arbitration comprising the Archbishop of Canterbury and four bishops to mediate in a dispute between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury 'gives added testimony',

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[12] The other residentiaries of St Paul's - Henry King, Thomas Winiffe and Thomas Mountfort - were also members of the High Commission; however, their names appear less frequently than Donne's in the lists of judicial appointees in the years 1624-1631.

[13] Regarding the will of Thomas Payne of Plymouth. (NA SP 16/I/8, no. 44.)

[14] Including John Buckeridge (Bishop of Ely in 1628), Sir William Jones and Sir George Croke (Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas respectively), and Sir Charles Caesar (one of the Masters in Chancery). Other jurists in this case included the civilians Drs John and Edmund Pope, Dr Thomas Gwynne, and the warden of Merton, Oxford, Sir Nathaniel Brent. The enrolment of the commission is at NA C66/2481/pt 1.

[15] *ODNB*, 32, 297-98 (Lambe); 36, 906-08 (Marten); 58, 272-73 (Westfield); 58, 700-02 (Whitelocke).

as Wesley Milgate observes, 'of the great esteem in which Donne was held as a lawyer.'[16]

Clues to the connexion between Donne's adjudicatory style of sermon exegesis and his judicial service may lie in the types of cases in which he sat. In the Court of Delegates, for example, available evidence suggests that the greatest part of the ecclesiastical business was testamentary.[17] The Act and Repertory Books show that Donne was appointed judge in at least two testamentary appeals in May and July 1628: the cases of Chaundler *v.* Weston, and Vaughan *v.* Colmer.[18] In an earlier sermon, in December 1626, Donne refers to public knowledge of well-known testamentary cases: 'We have seen great Wills, dilated into glorious uses, and into pious uses, and then too narrow an estate to reach it; And we have seen Wills, where the Testator thinks he hath bequeathed all, and he hath not knowne halfe his own worth.' [VII, 261.] Assured of the familiarity of his congregation with such cases, testamentary law provides Donne with a rich vein of theological and political analogy. In 1627, for example, Donne uses the law of gavel-kind – the equal division of an estate between sons rather than by primogeniture – to illustrate a distinctly 'moderate'

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[16] 'Donne the Lawyer', *TLS* (1 August, 1942), p. 379. (NA SP 16/I/145, no. 24.) The four bishops were Neile (Winchester), Buckeridge (Ely), Samuel White (Norwich), and William Murray (London).

[17] For the nature of the business from ecclesiastical courts, the Court of Admiralty, and the university courts, see W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, 16 vols (Methuen, 1903-66), I, 614-32, 548-68, 167-69, 171-75. For the Court of Chivalry, see G. D. Squibb, *High Court of Chivalry, A Study of the Civil Law in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 1-28, 138-61.

[18] NA Del. 8/70, fol. 35^{v}; Del. 5/7, no. 66. Also appointed as judges in Chaundler *v.* Weston were Samuel White, Sir John Denham, Sir James Whitelocke and Sir Charles Caesar. Donne's fellow judges in Vaughan *v.* Colmer included Buckeridge, Richard Zouche and Sir Nathaniel Brent. Sir John Lambe and Dr Edmund Pope sat on both cases.

theology of saving grace: 'For, *God* shall impart to us all, a mysterious *Gavelkinde*, a mysterious *Equality* of *fulnesse* of *Glory*, to us *all*'. [VIII, 84.] Whilst Achsah Guibbory sees in this formula an apparent endorsement of Montagu's Arminian emphasis on the universality of grace (imparted to 'us *all*'), Jeanne Shami positions Donne's theology of grace closer to that of the moderate hypothetical universalism of the British Delegates at Dort.[19]

Whatever the precise doctrinal implications of Donne's testamentary analogy, however, this type of metaphor echoes the Reformed notion of Scripture as God's will or legal testament, as expressed in Article 7 of the Belgic Confession (1566).[20] In accord with this notion, Donne depicts Scripture – in a 1628 sermon preached after the hearings in the Chaundler and Vaughan cases – as 'something extant, some contract, some covenant, something that hath the nature of a Law, some visible, some legible thing, to judge by.' [VIII, 281.][21] This idea of Scripture as a written testament 'to judge by', containing the concept of the New Testament (Christ's words) as a replacement of the Old Testament/Law (in the five Books of Moses), also furnishes applications to current affairs. In a court sermon preached in April 1626 to King Charles, for example, Donne approaches the controversial topic of the King's unpopular demand for a forced loan. He entreats his auditory, 'That the Counsell give over pleading, That the people give over murmuring'; but in contrast to so-called

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[19] Guibbory, 'Donne's Religion: Montagu, Arminianism and Donne's Sermons 1624-30', *English Literary Renaissance*, 31.1 (2001), 412-39 (pp. 418-9); Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, pp. 244-46.

[20] 'We believe that this Holy Scripture contains the *will* of God completely.' However, this testamentary formula is not found in Article 6 of the Thirty-Nine Articles, which simply declares: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for Salvation.'

[21] The notion of Scripture as divine testament is also found in Christ's words in John 5.39, 'Search the scriptures [for] they are they which testify of me.'

avant-garde conformists such as Roger Manwaring and Robert Sibthorpe, who went so far as to make obedience to the loan a case of conscience, Donne insists rather on adjudication by law.[22] For Christ, Donne declares, 'is not dead *intestate*, but hath left his Will and Testament, and why should not that Testament decide the cause?' Likewise, in the public sphere, the civil and common law provide a standard for arbitration. Thus, '*Legant verba testamenti* [...] the Judge cals for the words of the Will, and by that governs, and according to that establishes his Judgement.' [VII, 121.][23]

The measured nature of Donne's support for due process of law in early 1626 stood in marked contrast to more outspoken sermons of the period. For the failure of the Spanish match and the recall of the Earl of Bristol from Madrid in January 1624 had signalled a turn towards an increasingly militant, anti-papist public climate. In his anti-Spanish work *Votivæ Angliæ*, John Reynolds urged James VI and I 'to drawe his Royall Sword, for the restoring of the Pallatynat'.[24] Similarly, under the guise of public thanksgiving for the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain, churchmen such as Thomas Reeve, Robert Johnson and Thomas Adams preached providential, anti-Catholic sermons encouraged by the promise of the emerging coalition of godly

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[22] Manwaring, *Religion and Allegiance* (1627); Sibthorpe, *Apostolike Obedience: Shewing the Duty of Subiects to Pay Tribute and Taxes to their Princes* (1627).

[23] Elsewhere, Donne plays on the Latin term '*legatus*' to depict the Holy Spirit as both divine testament and emissary: 'The Holy Ghost is therefore *Legatus*, and *Legatum Christi*, He is Christs Ambassadour sent unto us, and he is his Legacy bequeathed unto us by his Will'. [VI, 315.]

[24] *Votivæ Angliæ: or The Desires and wishes of England* (1624), title page.

patriots, led by Charles and Buckingham.[25] By contrast, Donne preferred to distance himself from any direct endorsement of military action abroad. 'Wee are in Times when the way to *Peace* is *Warre*,' he wrote in his 1626 sermon dedication to the King, 'but my Profession leades not me to *those Warres*'. In the same vein, Donne's dedication also states his intention to remain aloof from current Church controversies, such as the 1626 York House conference regarding Richard Montagu's alleged Arminianism in *A New Gagg for an Old Goose* (1624):[26] 'And wee are in Times when the *Peace* of the *Church*, may seeme to implore a kinde of *Warre*, of *Debatements* and *Conferences* in some points; but my disposition leades mee not to that *Warre* neither.' [VII, 72-73.]

In such a heated public climate, Donne's familiarity with causes in defamation law may be of some of biographical and rhetorical relevance to his peaceable stance. On 11 October 1627, for example, Donne was appointed to a High Commission to inquire into William Prynne's attack, in *The Perpetuitie of a Regenerate Mans Estate*, on the 'purblinde, squint-eyed, ideall Arminian Novellists', of whom Richard Montagu was held to be chief.[27] In contrast to Prynne's libellous scorn, Donne warns against 'imprinting the odious and scandalous names of Sects, or Sectaries upon other men who may differ from them [...] in some opinions.' [VII, 97.] In accord with St

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[25] Reeve, *Mephibosheths Hearts Ioy Upon his Soveraignes Safetie* (1624); Johnson, *The Necessity of Faith* (1624); Adams, *The Barren Tree* (1623). Adams dedicated his sermon to Donne, calling him 'Iudicious'. (Sig. A3^{v}.)

[26] Concerning, in particular, his liberal views on perseverance and justification. (Cf. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 180.) Donne may have owned Montagu's book, for Keynes notes a copy containing the inscription: *Izaak Walton given me by Doc Don 1625*. (Keynes, p. 279.)

[27] E. W. Kirby, *William Prynne, a Study in Puritanism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 12-13.

Augustine, Donne decries legal 'wrangling' within the Church and upholds instead the ideal of Church unity, of *ecclesia christiana*:

> *Fratres sumus, quare litigamus*? sayes S. *Augustine*, Wee are all Brethren, by one Father, one Almighty God, and one Mother, one Catholique Church, and then why do we goe to Law together? At least, why doe we not bring our Suits to an end? [VII, 121.][28]

Thirty years earlier, in 'Elegy XI', Donne had alluded to the perils of defamation when he had cursed the finder of his mistress's bracelet with, 'libels, or some interdicted thing, / Which negligently kept, thy ruine bring.'[29] The admonitory tenor of Donne's couplet is confirmed by Sir Edward Coke's contemporary legal report, that libel and slander tend: '*per consequens* to quarrels, and breach of the peace, and may be the cause of shedding of blood, and of great inconvenience'.[30] To avoid such disorder within the English Church, therefore, Donne rejected *ad hominem* attacks and called for a spirit of accommodation, distinguishing between matters indifferent and articles of faith. Donne's exhortation to interpretative latitude echoes Joseph Hall's call for harmony within the Church, under the banner of peaceful diversity: 'In a pomegranate are many grains under one rind: you know the mystery: let us ioyne these pomegranates to our bells; let us be loud, but consorted.'[31] Also like Hall in his

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[28] Robert Vase, also, condemns, 'suits in law, open contentions, branglings and ianglings in Courts Ecclesiasticall and Temporall, whereof there is no end'. (*Sermon at Pauls Crosse* (1624), p. 15.)

[29] *Poems*, p. 101.

[30] *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke*, III, V, 125.

[31] Joseph Hall, *Noah's Dove* (1624), in *Works*, X, 22. Isaac Bargrave also called for Church unity in 1624, inveighing against church papists in *A Sermon preached before the Lower Ho. of Parliament Feb the last 1623* (1624), p. 22.

Via Media (1626),[32] and mindful of his experience of judging between competing claims in the ecclesiastical courts, Donne sought in his Caroline sermons to encourage both religious debate and outward conformity: 'that the Church may bee truly *Catholique, one flock, in one fold, under one Shepherd*, though *not all of one colour*, of one practice in all outward and disciplinarian points.' [VII, 433.]

Aside from causes of testament and defamation, Donne also sat as a judge-delegate in at least three cases concerning the laws of matrimony. In the Court of Delegates Donne was appointed judge in the case of Arnold *v.* Morgan in October 1626, which had come up from the Court of Arches; he attended two further hearings in 1627, and signed sentence in January 1630.[33] He was also appointed in the case of Thorrold *v.* Havers in October 1627;[34] and was present on the High Commission at the sentence of Viscountess Purbeck in November 1627.[35] In his sermons of this period, Donne uses the laws of matrimony to further illuminate his concept of a conformable yet reasoning conscience. In his 1627 Easter Day sermon at St Paul's, Donne considers the question of second marriage, loosely derived from his scriptural text.[36]

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[32] See Peter Lake, 'The moderate and ironic case for religious war: Joseph Hall's *Via Media* in context', in *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark. A. Kishlansky, pp. 55–83.

[33] NA Del. 8/70, fols 26^{v}, 31^{r}; 4/11, fol. 20^{v}; 4/12, fols 162^{r}, 169^{r}; 5/7, no. 65. Donne sat in this case with, amongst others, Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Westfield, Henry King, Buckeridge, White, Croke and Denham.

[34] NA Del. 8/70, fol. 33^{r}. Donne's fellow judges included William Somes, Laud, Winiffe, Whitelock, Caesar and Brent.

[35] See [T. Longueville], *The Curious Case of Lady Purbeck: A Scandal of the XVIIth Century* (1909). (Cited in Bald, p. 420.)

[36] Hebrews 11.35: 'Women received their dead raised to life againe: and others were tortured, not accepting a deliverance, that they might obtaine a better resurrection.'

In accord with his scholarly practice, Donne first finds authority for *nuptiæ iteratæ* in a range of biblical, conciliar, patristic, scholastic and Reformation sources: in the Pauline epistles (I Cor. 7.39), the eighth canon of the first Council of Nicæa, in Jerome, Aquinas and Calvin. Whilst Christian second marriage is thus permissible, however, reservations remain. For 'the Lord himself', Donne asserts, 'perswades continency' in widows and widowers. Yet, 'In all Treaties of marriage, in all Contracts for Portion, and Joynture, who ever ask their children, who ever aske themselves, whether they can live continently or no?' [VII, 378.] This posing of both sides of the case is characteristic of Donne's judicial exegesis. Donne's treatment of his text as a point of departure for legal argument also permits allusion to controversial affairs, such as the King's marriage to the French Catholic Henrietta Maria. For Donne, like a scrupulous judge, is careful to point out that there *are* exceptions when second or even 'Cradle-marriages' may prove desirable: 'The peace of neighbouring States, the uniting of great Families for good ends, may present just occasions of departing from severe rules.' [VII, 378.]

Donne also uses metaphors of marital union to shed light on other types of civil and spiritual allegiance: between pastor and congregation, subject and State, Church and Christ. Donne's first sermon as Vicar of St Dunstan's, preached in April 1624, takes Deuteronomy 25.5 as its text, concerning the duty of a man to marry his brother's widow. In his exordium, Donne explains how the secular law spoken of in the text may also 'be appliable to this *spirituall Mariage*, the Mariage of the Minister to the Church'. [VI, 82.] Having extended the idea of marriage to that of pastor and Church, Donne once again draws a parallel between: 'the *Civill Magistrate*, and the *Spirituall Pastor*, who have married the *two Daughters of God*, The *State* and the *Church*'. [VI, 86.] Magistrate and pastor are called 'the *Images* and *Ambassadours* of

God' [VI, 86], hinting once more at Donne's view of the many and varied professional connexions between judge, priest and emissary. That Donne's St Dunstan's auditory would have relished such legal analogies also seems likely given the location of the church in the heart of the legal district, opposite the Temple and near to Lincoln's Inn and the Office of the Rolls.[37] Furthermore, Donne's remarks upon the lawful nature of the pastor's appointment in the Church, couched in the terms of matrimonial law, may also have had an autobiographical resonance (not least in Donne's capacity as a church pluralist). For Donne seems to hint wryly at his own suit against Henry Seyliard concerning the benefice at Keyston when he remarks: 'it is a lawfull marriage upon a just and equitable *vacancy* of the place, without any supplantation'. [VI, 89.]

Lastly, Donne also uses metaphors drawn from property law for the purposes of edification.[38] In his funeral sermon for Sir William Cokayne, preached in December 1626, Donne draws an analogy between land purchase and examination of one's conscience: 'He that purchases a Mannor, will thinke to have an exact Survey of the Land: But who thinks of taking so exact a survey of his Conscience, how that money was got, that purchased that Mannor?' [VII, 260.] Donne also frequently adopts property law terms – such as reversion, possession, and title – to illustrate articles of

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[37] Bald, pp. 458-59. For discussion of the presence of judges in the St Dunstan's congregation, see Edward Foss, *The Judges of England*, 9 vols (1848-64), VI, 227. See also Baird W. Whitlock, 'Donne at St Dunstan's', *TLS* (16 & 23 Sept 1955).

[38] Donne's knowledge of property law would have been enhanced by his attendance at Readings at Lincoln's Inn, many of which were confined to land law. (Cf. Prest, *The Inns of Court*, p. 122.)

faith.[39] Such points of doctrine include man's resurrection after death, and his salvation at the last judgement: 'he shall make his possession of this first resurrection, his title, and his evidence to the second'. [VII, 117.] Moreover, Donne's use of such law terms offers clues to the nature of his belief in certain areas of theological controversy, such as his assertion of the resurrection of the body at the last day: 'The whole world must die, before she come to a *possession* of this *Reversion*; which is a *Glorified body in the Resurrection.*' [VIII, 92.][40]

As a pastor of souls, therefore, Donne draws on his judicial experience to offer models of God and his activity that bear repeating on a human scale. As Paul Harland has observed, by so doing Donne seeks to stimulate his auditory to conceive of God in a way 'adequate to fit the human soul'.[41] Donne's analogies from testamentary, defamation, matrimonial and property law are applied, in turn, to pressing matters of State, such as Charles's marriage and war with Spain; and within the Church, to the rift between Arminians and Calvinists over matters of doctrine, ceremony, and Church governance. Donne's appeal to due judicial process thus permits him to urge orderly conformity to Church and State, whilst also preserving the independence of law and conscience from the extremes of *iure divino* absolutism. In contrast, therefore, to Donne's own stated tendency towards 'Paradoxicall imaginations in my selfe', which

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[39] 'Reversion of land, is a certaine estate remaining in the lessour or donour, after the particuler estate & possession conveyd to another by Lease for life, or yeares, or guift [*sic*] in taile.' (Rastell, *Les termes de la ley*, p. 281.)

[40] Of the major Protestant confessions, only the Heidelberg Catechism, in Question 57, explicitly asserts man's resurrection at the Last Day to be a bodily one: 'this my body, being raised by the power of Christ, shall be reunited with my soul'. (Although bodily resurrection is included in the Apostles' Creed (from I Cor. 15), which was common to all the Protestant Churches.)

[41] 'Imagination and Affections in John Donne's Preaching', *JDJ*, 6.1 (1987), 33-50 (p. 39).

'never attaine to the setlednesse [*sic*] of an opinion' [VI, 317], the illustration of religious and civil conflicts in legal terms reflects Donne's *practical* approach to their resolution. Or, in Donne's pithy remark, 'In a smoakie roome, it may bee enough to open a Windowe, without leaving the place'. [VI, 259.]

DONNE AS JUDGE AT LAW: PRECEPTS AND PRACTICE

At the heart of Donne's Christian jurisprudence lies the notion of its divine origin: 'All just Laws are from God.' [VIII, 114.] This notion of the rectoral justice of God (as lawgiver) is also present in Donne's Augustinian view of the Trinity, according to which the three divine persons are assigned distinct judicial roles: Father as judge, Son as advocate, and the Holy Ghost (via Scripture) as law itself.[42] Noralyn Masselink observes that Donne's use of concrete images, in this case drawn from the law courts, to illustrate the offices of the Trinity, 'reflects an essentially Thomistic understanding of the way men come to know God,' that is, empirically, through the senses.[43] Indeed, in an April 1627 sermon to the King Donne goes so far as to say of divine justice, that, 'God proceeds legally; Publication before Judgement.' [VII, 395.] Such a claim, that God's judgement is distributive,[44] that it proceeds 'out of outward evidence' [VI, 314] to punish vice and reward virtue, is likely to have had significant contemporary resonance in the spring of 1627. For in the wake of the York House conference in the previous year such a proposition would have sounded more reminiscent of an

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[42] Although Christ, because of his dual nature, is also identified as judge (as well as advocate). E.g. Acts 10.42: 'We testifie that it is he, that is ordained of God to bee the Judge of quick and dead.'

[43] Masselink, 'Donne's Epistemology and the Appeal to Memory', *JDJ*, 8.1-2 (1989), p. 61.

[44] For a sixteenth-century definition of distributive and commutative justice, see Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Gouernour* (Thomas Berthelet, 1531), p. 142.

Arminian doctrine of grace (conditional) than a Calvinist one (unconditional): '[If] I see *his workes* I proceed the right way in Judicature, I judge *secundum allegata & probata*, according to my evidence'. [IX, 121.] It is on the basis of such remarks by Donne that commentators such as Peter McCullough, Achsah Guibbory and Nicholas Tyacke find Donne to be broadly sympathetic to doctrinal Arminianism;[45] in contrast to the vehement rejection of the 'Pelagian' concept of universal grace by conformist Calvinist preachers such as Humphrey Sydenham.[46] At the same time, however, both Anthony Milton and Jeanne Shami note Donne's increasingly frequent reference to Calvin in his Caroline sermons. As Milton points out, whilst this did not necessarily make Donne a doctrinal Calvinist, it certainly did reveal that unlike Montagu, Francis White and other avant-garde conformists, Donne was not 'anxious to denigrate him [Calvin]'.[47] Of course, it may also simply be the case that Calvin's legal mind had its own appeal for other lawyers such as Donne.

In general terms, however, seeming incongruities in Donne's religio-political stance (e.g. between his apparent assent to an Arminian doctrine of grace, on the one hand, and his Calvinist emphasis on preaching-centred piety, on the other hand) may derive in part from misinterpretation of Donne's juridical vocabulary. For how

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[45] Though Peter McCullough adds the significant caveat that Donne nonetheless rejected *political* association with the Arminian 'cabal of Andrewes, Laud, Neile, *et al.*' ('Donne as Preacher at Court: Precarious "Inthronization"', pp. 195-6; Guibbory, 'Donne's Religion: Montagu, Arminianism and Donne's Sermons 1624-30', pp. 419-20; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p. 261.)

[46] Sydenham, *Iacob and Esau: Election and Reprobation Opened and Discussed by Way of Sermon at Pauls Crosse* (1627), in *Five Sermons Preached Upon Severall Occasions* (1637), pp. 53-56.

[47] Milton, *Catholic & Reformed: the Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 427; Shami, *Conformity in Crisis*, p. 279.

faithfully can Donne's legal analogies be said to reflect his theology? Rather, Donne's depiction of divine judgement in courtroom terms seems to arise as much from his frequent judicial practice in the higher Church courts – and from close relations with lawyers and fellow judges – as from any systematic doctrinal belief. Justification by 'outward evidence', for example, was central to legal procedure in the ecclesiastical appellate courts in which Donne sat. In the High Commission, in causes *inter partes*, for instance, four sorts of evidence were deemed admissible: witnesses, confessions, documents, and circumstantial data.[48] Echoing these items of civil court evidence, Donne's 1627 Candlemas sermon lists items relevant to *exegetical* proof:

> all the Citations of places of Scriptures [...] all that was presented to thy reason, all the deducements, and inferences of the Schooles [...] all that was presented to thy spirituall delight, all the sentences of ornament produced out of the Fathers [VII, 328-29].

The exhaustive nature of Donne's literal, *per verbum* exposition of Scripture – consistent with Augustinian and Bernadine notions of the divine inspiration of each syllable of the Bible[49] – also appears to be in accord with civil law treatment of fact. For in High Commissions, unlike in common law courts, the attempt was made to elucidate all the facts possible, and to prove or disprove every item of evidence, because, theoretically, the case must be completely proved.[50] Donne's experience of the rigour of this type of judicial procedure, therefore, may also lie behind his assertion that, in civil and religious disputes: 'A Legal and Juridical Accusation, is

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[48] Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, p. 117. See also Thomas Oughton's account of civilian appellate procedure in *Forms of Ecclesiastical Law; or, the mode of conducting suits in the Consistory Courts* (1844), pp. 112-19.

[49] Dennis Quinn, 'John Donne's Christian Eloquence', in *Seventeenth-Century Prose: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. by Stanley E. Fish (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 353-75 (p. 356).

[50] By contrast, at common law, lawyers endeavoured to separate the law and the facts. The whole case was narrowed down to a single point, the point at issue. (Cf. Usher, *High Commission*, p. 119.)

justifiable, maintainable, because it is the proper way for remedy'. Whilst Donne also suggests that 'a private reprehension done with discretion, and moderation, should be acceptable too', he unequivocally condemns the harm done by political intrigue: 'a privy whispering is always Pharisaical.' [VII, 151.] Such remarks, made in a court sermon in April 1626, thus acquire topical urgency when viewed in light of continuing public rancour over the King's forced loan of 1626 and the bungled Anglo-Dutch assault on Cadiz of the previous winter; or bitter quarrels in the Church over judicial bias, such as Sir John Lambe's accusation that John Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, had stymied a High Commission inquiry.[51] Donne depicts the fatal seduction of 'privy whispering' in lyrical style:

> *Per ornamenta ferit*, says the Patriarch, and Oracle of Morall men, *Seneca*; This whisperer wounds thee, and with a stilletta of gold, he strangles thee with scarfes of silk, he smothers thee with the down of Phœnixes, he stifles thee with a perfume of Ambar [VII, 406].

Comparisons can be drawn, therefore, between Donne's weighing of legal evidence in court and of scriptural evidence in the pulpit. In a sermon preached on Easter Day 1629 Donne assesses the (partial) evidential merit of singular scriptural examples: 'singularity is *Indicium*, (as we say in the Law) some kind of evidence, It is *Semi-probatio*, a kind of halfe-proofe'. [VIII, 357.] Donne's measure of testimonial value here alludes to the threefold grading of pertinency of proof in the Court of High Commission: complete proof, other evidence directly in point (*indices prochains*), and other evidence indirectly in point (*indices éloignés*).[52] Donne thus refers to the second and third grades when he adds, 'yet as these which we call *Indicia*, in the Law, worke

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[51] Richard Cust, *The Forced Loan and English Politics, 1626-1628* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 151-85; *ODNB*, 9, 25-26 (Lambe). The inquiry concerned Leicester puritanism.

[52] Usher, *High Commission*, p. 117.

but so, as that they may bring a man to his oath, or, in some cases, to the rack, and to torture, but are not, alone sufficient to condemne him'. [VIII, 357.]

Donne's recurring call in his Caroline sermons for his congregation to take stock of its conscience bears comparison with a third aspect of civil-law procedure: drafting and porrection of sentence. In a Lent sermon of 1629, for example, Donne cites St Augustine on the imperative to self-scrutiny: '*Ascendat Tribunal Mentis suæ & constituat se ante seipsum*; Let him cite himself before himself, give evidence himself against himself'. [VIII, 343-44.] Likewise, in the civil courts parties were obliged to draft their own sentences – to 'cite himself before himself' – and then 'porrect' their sentences, or hand them to the judges.[53] Yet whereas in the civil court porrection of one's sentence might be guided by natural reason and by one's advocates and proctors, in the court of divine judgement only acceptance of Christ could lead to acquittal: 'Onely our own conscience rectified, is a competent judge.' Flattery, worldly success and false comparisons, Donne observes, are inadmissible in God's court: 'All these proceedings are *Coram non Judice*, all these are literally *Præmunire* cases, for they are appellations into forraigne Jurisdictions, and forraigne Judicatures.' [VIII, 344.][54]

Donne's Thomist emphasis on rectification in legal judgment is a persistent theme in his later sermons. A judge-delegate, as much as an individual examining his conscience, must do more than merely keep the Mosaic Law; he must be rectified, he

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[53] Duncan, *Court of Delegates*, pp. 160-63. The porrected sentence accepted by the court, decided by simple majority, would have the word '*justitiam*' or '*sententiam*' written into the text.

[54] '*Coram non judice*, is when an action is brought in a court whereof the judges have not any jurisdiction'. (*The Reports of Sir Edward Coke*, VII, Pt 12, 53.) *Præmunire* is a writ concerning a suit brought in the spiritual court for a matter determinable in the temporal court. (Rastell, *Les termes de la ley*, p. 255.)

must rely upon the assistance of Christ. This is what '*sub lege*', to be '*under the Law*' means. And yet observance of the law occupies a curiously ambiguous position within Christianity. Christ himself justifies contravention of Pharisaic law concerning the Sabbath in Matthew 12.1-8; and in Romans 7.4-25, St Paul asserts that Christians are 'dead to the law' by the death of Christ.[55] New Testament notions of legal dispensation, of equity and mercy, therefore, consistently leaven the duty of Donne's Christian judge to administer punishment: 'God himselfe avowes his sighing, when he comes to name Judgements [...] He sighs, he weeps when he must draw blood from them.' [VII, 243.][56] Divine reluctance to reprove serves, in turn, as the model for clemency in human judges. Preaching at Whitehall in April 1626, Donne exhorts his court auditory, as high-ranking members of the judiciary, not to forgo their duty to be merciful:

> What would a good Judge, a good natured Judge give in his Circuit, what would you, in whose breasts the Judgements of the Star-chamber, or other criminall Courts are, give, that you had a warrant from the King, to change the sentence of blood into a pardon, where you found a Delinquent penitent? [VII, 135.]

Yet Donne is at pains to distinguish between cases that warrant judicial accommodation (such as the penitent delinquent) and cases that do not. The mere fact that a suitor is held to be *in forma pauperis*, for example, is insufficient cause for

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[55] This is because in Jesus they have entered a new kind of morality predicated on the Golden Rule. Alan Watson, *Jesus and the Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 9-12; Calum M. Carmichael, *The Origins of Biblical Law: The Decalogues and the Book of the Covenant* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 5-9.

[56] From Donne's third prebend sermon at St Paul's on 5 November 1626. For discussion of the preaching duties of St Paul's prebendaries, see Janel M. Mueller, ed., *Donne's Prebend Sermons* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), Introduction.

dispensation.[57] In a St Paul's sermon in May 1626, Donne alludes to his familiarity with such cases in the Court of Delegates: 'Many times I have seene a suitor that comes *in forma pauperis*' [VII, 175]; and on 10 March 1627 Donne attended just such a case, in the cause of Drewett *v.* Tomes.[58] In his May 1626 sermon, Donne finds specific scriptural justification in Leviticus 19.15 and Exodus 23.3 for *not* giving special consideration to poor suitors: '*Non misereberis pauperis in judicio*, *Thou shalt not countenance a poore man in his cause*, Thou shalt not pity a poore man in judgement.' [VII, 173.] The legal analogy – of the judicial duty not to wink at small abuses – is then applied to Donne's controversial theme, the religious duty of *not* tolerating the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory, merely because it seems, 'a poore opinion, able to do little harme'. [VII, 173.] Rather, as with cases *in forma pauperis*, Donne cautions his auditory that, 'thou shalt not countenance this opinion upon any collaterall respect, but bring it to the onely tryall of Doctrines, the Scriptures.' [VII, 174.] Thus Donne uses legal analogy to engage in anti-Romish polemic, yet without straying into the overt anti-papist rhetoric of puritan-leaning Calvinist divines such as Thomas Gataker and Christopher White.[59]

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[57] In the Court of Delegates, the party seeking to be admitted *in forma pauperis* was required to swear that he was not worth five pounds. (Duncan, *Court of Delegates*, p. 92.) See also, J. T. Law, *Forms of Ecclesiastical Law* (1831), XIII, Pt 1.

[58] NA Del. 4/11, fol. 29^{v}; Del. 8/70, fol. 30^{r}. Donne's fellow judges included Buckeridge, Laud, Whitelocke, Lambe, Henry Marten, William Jones, Walter Balcanquall, Richard Zouche.

[59] See Gataker, *An anniversarie memoriall of Englands delivery from the Spanish invasion: delivered in a sermon on Psalm xlviii, 7, 8* (1626); and White, *Of Oathes; their object, forme, and bond; the Punishment of Perjurie, and the Impietie of Papall Dispensations* (1627).

In some respects, Donne's controversial sermon against Rome in May 1626 reflected popular fears in London of Jesuit infiltration and Catholic invasion.[60] For this reason, Donne justifies the fact that 'this Dayes Exercise will bee merely Polemicall' on the strength of emergent events: 'since wee heare that Drums beat in every field abroad, it becomes us also to returne to the brasing and beating of our Drums in the Pulpit too'. [VII, 166-67.] Such events, in the spring of 1626, included the defeat of Protestant forces at Dessau Bridge in Germany by Habsburg armies, Sweden's victory over the Poles at the Battle of Wallhof, and Bethlen Gabor's invasion of Moravia.[61] On the one hand, Donne acknowledges such events in his use of military parlance, 'Christ beats his Drum, but he does not Press men' [VII, 156]; on the other hand, however, Donne is careful not to overlook what he calls 'the ticklishnesse of *London*-Pulpits'.[62] For this reason, in pursuit of St Paul's 'juratory caution' [VIII, 293] and the rhetorical prudence of Melanchthon ('a man of more learning and temperance then perchance have met in any one, in our perverse and froward times' [VII, 206]),[63] Donne hedges all hints of topical allusion with caveats. Preaching at St Paul's in June 1626, for example, Donne warns that God's 'Lieutenant and Viceregent' should not put personal concerns before the interests of the State.

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[60] Such fears were satirised in Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, performed early in 1626. In particular, see Act III, Scene ii, ll. 21-93.

[61] Parker, p. 69.

[62] *Tobie Mathews*, p. 355. Undated (possibly as early as 1625-1626, or as late as 1628). For dating of the letter, see Bald, p. 395.

[63] For English perceptions of Melanchthon's moderate predestinarianism, prior to and during the Arminian controversy, see Dewey D. Wallace, 'The Anglican Appeal to Lutheran Sources: Philipp Melanchthon's Reputation in Seventeenth-Century England', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 52 (1983), 355-67 (pp. 365-67).

Recognising the danger of being misconstrued, in presuming to advise kings and privy counsellors, Donne issues a belated disclaimer: 'God forbid that my praying that things may not be so, should be interpreted for a suspicion in me, that things are so'. [VII, 204.] Just how convincing Donne's declaration of sincerity might have appeared to his congregation, however, is impossible to know, for although his remarks escaped censure on this occasion, he would not be so fortunate in the following year.

In April 1627 Donne preached a sermon to the King at the Chapel Royal that incurred royal disapproval. The address illustrates a further aspect of Donne's judicial experience deployed in his sermons to discreet polemical effect: namely, his knowledge of canon law. According to Izaak Walton, it was during the early years of married life at the Wolley estate at Pyrford (1602-1606) that Donne first devoted himself to an intensive study of the civil and canon law: 'in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life.'[64] Donne's familiarity with both Roman and English canon law is also suggested by the fact that his extant library contains copies of both the English *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1604) and the *Codex Canonum Vetus Ecclesiæ Romanæ* (1609).[65] Donne also owned works by both Protestant and Catholic canonists such as Andreas Dudith, Joannes de Gallemart, Antonius Sylvius, and Gulielmus Durandus, many of which are cited in *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Biathanatos*.[66] Furthermore, Donne's frequent appointment as a judge in the higher

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[64] Walton, *Lives*, p. 24.

[65] Now in private ownership, and in the UCL (Syn.7.60.26.(1)) respectively. (Keynes, pp. 266-67, 279.) Occasional pencil markings exist in the margins of *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall*; there are none in *Codex Canonum Vetus Ecclesiæ Romanæ*.

[66] Dudith, *Orationes in Concil. Trident. Habitæ* (Offenbach, 1610); Gallemart, *Decisiones et Declariones Illustrissimorum Cardinalium sacri Concilii Tridentini Interpretum* (Douay, 1615); Anon,

Church courts would have required a thorough knowledge of ecclesiastical law, as in the April 1627 High Commission case of George Huntley, arraigned for his refusal to preach.[67]

In his April 1627 sermon to the King, Donne used his learning in canon law to rebuke 'them of the Roman distemper'. [VII, 400.] Preaching on Mark 4.24, 'Take heed what you heare', Donne warns against Tridentine Catholic innovations in doctrine and Church governance. Supporting his argument with reference to authorities such as the fourteenth-century canonist Baldus de Bartholinis,[68] Donne condemns papal interpolations in the canon law that 'deliver *more* then the Scriptures doe', and the elevation of non-canonical writings to a position of parity with the Bible:

> they make their decretall Epistles of their Popes and of their *Extravagants*, [...] and their occasionall *Bulls*, nay their *Bull-baitings*, their Buls fighting, and crossing and contradicting one another, equall to Canonicall Scripture. [VII, 402.]

Above all, Donne denounces papal legislative expediency, citing the 'profusenesse' of Romanist canonists: they 'that first compiled the *Decretals*, and the *Extravagants*, and they who have since recompiled more *Decretals*, and more *Extravagants*, the *Clementins*, and the *Sextins*, and of late yeares the *Septims*, with those of *John the* 22.' [VII, 402.] In exasperation, Donne asks how long such decrees will persist in being 'our Rule what to beleeve'?

De Summi Pontificis Auctoritate [...] *Gravissimorum auctorem opuscula* (Venice, 1561); Sylvius, *Commentarius ad leges* [...] *Romani iuris antiqui* (Paris, 1603); and Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (Lyons, 1605).

[67] [George Huntley], *An argument upon a generall Demurrer* (1642), sig. A3; John Johnson, *The Case of a Rector refusing to preach a Visitation Sermon* (1721), p. 10; R. Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law* (1873), II, 1348-49.

[68] Baldus (1327-1400) was an Italian professor of law at Perugia and Bologna. (*Sermons*, X, 388.)

> Till they fall out with some State, with whom they are friends yet, or grown friends with some State, that they are fallen out with now; and then upon a new *Decretall*, a new *Extravagant*, I must contract a new, or enlarge, or restrain my old beleef. [VII, 402.]

Donne censures papal canon law for its unprincipled pragmatism, subject to alteration according to convenience. This was not, however, to condemn the temporal nature of ecclesiastical legislation per se, which was central to administration of the English Church, a fact demonstrated in Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-1597). For whilst recognising that the natural law is unchangeable and eternal (Bk I, Ch. 3), though interpreted by man's reason, Hooker also acknowledges that the positive law of the State, including rulings affecting the form of Church government, is mutable, and may be altered when change is necessary or expedient (Bk 1, Ch. 15).[69] Moreover, Donne would also have been quite aware that judges under English ecclesiastical law were unfettered by the doctrine of binding precedents and were thus free to adapt the law in each case in accordance with the principles of canonical jurisprudence, leading to flexible, judge-made law.[70] Regarding Donne's denunciation of the papal canon law, therefore, it may be seen that

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[69] Bk 1, Ch. 15: 'Laws positive contained in Scripture, [and] the mutability of certain of them'. For Hooker's view of the mutability of canon law, see Richard Helmholz, 'The Canons of 1603: The Contemporary Understanding', in *English Canon Law: Essays in Honour of Bishop Eric Kemp*, ed. by Norman Doe, Mark Hill, and Robert Ombres (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), pp. 28-31. Evidence of Donne's esteem for Hooker may be gleaned from a (signed) Latin epigram addressed by Donne to William Covell, and written on the leaf opposite the title of Donne's own copy of Covell's *Defence of the five books of Ecclesiastical Policie* (1603). (Keynes, p. 267.) '*Ad Autorem / Non eget Hookerus tanto tutamine; Tanto / Tutus qui impugnat sed foret Auxilio.*' ['Hooker is not in need of so great a defence; whoever attacks him only helps to make him more secure.']

[70] Helmholz, 'The Canons of 1603', pp. 23-35; *The Canon Law of the Church of England: Being the Report of the Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law* (SPCK, 1947), pp. 57-58.

Donne objects not to the alteration or mutability of canon law in itself – 'for, as gold is gold still, the heaviest metall of all' – but rather to the mass of inessential papal legislation that serves to detract from the dignity of the whole: 'yet if it be beat into leaf gold, I can blow it away'. [VII, 403.]

Once again, a richer contemporary significance may be adduced to Donne's remarks on papal canon law when his April 1627 sermon is placed in its contemporary polemical context. Gosse, Potter and Simpson, and Bald all note the episode concerning this address, in which Donne was commanded by Laud to produce a copy of the sermon for the King's scrutiny, and to justify himself in interview.[71] In the months preceding April 1627, Archbishop Abbot had incurred Laud's displeasure after refusing to license Richard Montagu's *Appello Cæsarem*, and by later declining to license a sermon by Robert Sibthorpe that 'carried the Prerogative to an unwarrantable length';[72] further offence had been caused by Abbot preaching a sermon of puritanical tenor to the King. In a letter to Sir Robert Ker, Donne explains that he had in fact prepared his own sermon two months earlier, but that he fears that the King might have been distracted by 'some over bold allusions, or expressions in the way' and prays that, 'When he sees the generall scope, I hope his goodnesse will pardon collaterall escapes.'[73] Examples of such 'over bold allusions' in Donne's sermon include an impolitic reference to the Catholicism of Queen Henrietta Maria ('Very religious Kings may have had wives, that may have retained some tincture, some impressions of errour, which they may have sucked in their infancy, from another Church' [VII, 409]); and Donne's preface to a thoroughly uncontentious

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[71] Gosse, II, 243-44; *Sermons*, VII, 38-43; Bald, pp. 492-94.

[72] Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly of England*, 2 vols (1708), II, 740.

[73] *Letters*, p. 309; Gosse, II, 245.

argument in favour of voting supply for the King with the dramatic phrase: 'this is the first time [...] That ever I had any kinde of loathnesse that the King should hear all that I sayd.' [VII, 403.] Peter McCullough, however, has plausibly suggested that rather than such isolated phrases, what had roused Laud's suspicion was Donne's unreserved paean to the power of evangelical preaching; also, the fact that Donne had cited as his example of morally compromised preaching the sermons of those tainted by Roman doctrines. Seen in this light, it seems reasonable to suggest that Donne's critical remarks on the interpolations of papal canon law may also have been perceived by Laud as offensive: aimed at those Durham House divines like Montagu, Sibthorpe or Manwaring, who were suspected of wishing for eventual intercommunion with Rome. Thus, it appears that on this one occasion Donne's tactical skill and lightness of rhetorical touch let him down; or as McCullough puts it, Donne thought his sermon 'preached obedience and condemned sedition, but he crucially failed to adjust his vocabulary for those ideals to fit Laudian definitions of them.'[74]

Aspects of Donne's practical experience of civil law court procedure, therefore, appear to find their counterparts in the *amplificatio* of Donne's sermon exegesis: in his citation of scriptural evidence, standards of proof for belief, the call for self-examination, and the fine ethical balance between justice and mercy. However, as Donne discovered to his cost in his April 1627 sermon to the King, Laud's appointment as Dean of the Chapel Royal in September 1626 had brought with it the need for a renewed understanding of the rapidly changing political and ceremonial climate in the English Church. The question of how Donne adapted the themes,

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[74] McCullough, 'Donne as Preacher at Court', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colcough, p. 200.

disposition, and rhetorical style of his last sermons to meet this new reality forms the basis of the last section of this chapter.

'A RULE TO REGULATE OUR SPEECH': DONNE'S JUDICIAL ELOQUENCE

Potter and Simpson remark of Donne's sermons of 1629 and 1630 that 'There is no direct political reference to the troubles of the time', observing that this was in accord with his usual practice, in which he was 'a pastor of souls first and foremost'.[75] However, I would argue that attention to the juridical themes and figurative language of Donne's later sermons – understood within the contexts of their specific preaching occasions – suggests a refinement of this view. First, that evidence from the sermons indicates that Donne voiced a more persistent, if subtle, commentary on pressing matters of Church and State in 1629-1630 than previously recognised. Such public affairs included the ascent of Laud and Sir Thomas Wentworth to become the King's chief advisers following the assassination of Buckingham in 1628; Charles's dissolution of Parliament in 1629;[76] and Britain's continuing war with France and Spain.[77] Second, that Donne's oblique commentary on the political and religious

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[75] *Sermons*, IX, 9.

[76] After it had forced through resolutions against those who sought to introduce popery and Arminianism, and against those who counselled the levying of tonnage and poundage without a parliamentary grant. See Conrad Russell, *Parliament and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 390-416; L. J. Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 58-98; *Commons Debates for 1629*, ed. by Wallace Notestein and Frances Helen Relf (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1921).

[77] Until the Peace of Susa with France in April 1629, and the Peace of Madrid with Spain in November 1630. (Parker, p. 97; Simon Adams, 'Spain or the Netherlands? The Dilemmas of Early Stuart Foreign

'troubles of the time' was in fact instrumental, rather than subordinate, to his vocation as pastor of souls. And third, that Donne's concept of his pastoral role was shaped, at least in part, by his continuing administrative and executive activity in the public sphere: as Dean of St Paul's, Vicar of St Dunstan's, jurist in the Court of Delegates and High Commission, and as a Governor of the Charterhouse.[78]

Donne's court sermon on 20 February 1629 demonstrates his characteristic use of legal vocabulary to consider contentious political matters. First, Donne sets his text, James 2.12, 'So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty', within the broad political context of broils domestic and foreign: 'the foot of pride, forraign or home-oppression, does not, shall not tread us down.' [VIII, 340.] In what appears to be a straightforwardly conformist plea to his auditory to abide by the royal will and cease public dissent, Donne equates the law of liberty with the Gospel. Like the Gospel, such a law is liberating insofar as it delivers men from 'the bondage of sin' [VIII, 354]; it works by acting as 'a rule to regulate our speech'. [VIII, 336.] However, in February 1629 Donne's exposition of the law of liberty also echoed ongoing disputes concerning royal abrogation of civil law. Such breaches of the constitution was one of the central complaints of the 1628 and 1629 Parliaments, articulated by Sir John Eliot in his protest against the royal imposition of taxation without parliamentary consent:

Policy', in *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. by Howard Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1983), p. 100.)

[78] Donne signed at least four sentences in the Court of Delegates in 1629-1630 (Del. 5/7, nos 34, 60, 65, 66). He was appointed Governor of the Charterhouse on 10 June 1626. He attended his last meeting on 26 February 1631, one month before his death. See Robert Evans, 'John Donne, Governor of Charterhouse', *JDJ*, 8 (1989), 133-50.

> The ancient law of England, the declaration of Magna Carta and other statutes, say the subject is not to be burdened with loans, tallages, or benevolences. Yet we see them imposed. Doth not this contradict the law? Where is law? Where is *meum et tuum*? It is fallen into the chaos of a higher power.[79]

In an earlier sermon, preached at Paul's Cross in May 1627, Donne had referred to this law of propriety, of '*meum et tuum*', to declare the importance of the State and the law as the cornerstones of *bene esse*, the common well being: 'The *State*, the *Law* preserves and distinguishes, not onely the *Meum & Tuum*, the *Possessions* of men, but the *Me & Te*, the very *persons* of men'. [VII, 426.][80] Similarly, in his February 1629 court sermon, as Paul Harland suggests, Donne appears 'to affirm the supremacy of law', asking: 'Shall God judge us, condemn us, execute us at the last day, and not by a Law?' [VIII, 344-45.][81] The contemporary resonance of Donne's rhetorical question becomes more audible when heard against the sermon's immediate political background: namely, parliamentary anger at Charles's absolutist-leaning policies, such as the forced loan, arbitrary imprisonment (exemplified by the Five Knights case of 1627), billeting of soldiers, and martial law. In 1628, Charles had grudgingly signed the Petition of Right, adding the ominous proviso that, 'you neither mean nor can hurt my prerogative'. This was met in turn by Sir Nathaniel Rich's bitter riposte: 'He promises he will govern us by his laws, or the confirmation of the laws. We have

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[79] *Proceedings in Parliament 1628*, ed. by Mary Frear Keeler and others, 6 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977-78), II, 57.

[80] Donne also refers to the law of *Meum et Tuum* in 'Meditation XI' in *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. by Anthony Raspa (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 57; and *Essays in Divinity*, ed. by Evelyn M. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 32. For the three principal uses of the law, see Francis Bacon, *The Elements of the Common Lawes of England* (1630), III, 247.

[81] 'Donne's Political Intervention in the Parliament of 1629', *JDJ*, 11.1-2 (1992), 21-37 (p. 32).

nothing thereby but shells and shadows.'[82] Donne, too, in his interpretation of James 2.12 appears to echo parliamentary sentiment when he quotes the tenth-century Greek biblical commentator Œcumenius, who observed that God's law of liberty 'hath exempted no man, how well soever he love him'. [VIII, 350.]

A further example of Donne's use of legal analogy to make oblique comment on both domestic and international current affairs in 1629-1630 comes in his sermon preached on 25 January 1630, on the theme of the conversion of St Paul. Preaching on Acts 23.6-7, concerning St Paul's trial in the Sanhedrin for sedition and 'prophanation of the Temple', Donne's exposition focusses on the Apostle's 'Strategem, and just avoiding of an unjust Judgement'. [IX, 156.] Observing that the Sadducees denied the resurrection, and the Pharisees believed it, St Paul sought to divide his judges and 'to put off the tryall for that time, till he might be received to a more sober, and calme, and equitable hearing.' [IX, 165.] Significantly, Paul's 'Strategem' of delay bears close correspondence with the legal tactics adopted by William Prynne in his October 1627 case before the High Commission, a case on which Donne sat as judge. For in response to the efforts of Arminian-leaning supporters of Montagu to silence him, Prynne, William James the printer, and Michael Sparkes, the publisher of Prynne's book *The Perpetuitie of a Regenerate Mans Estate*, produced a writ of stay of proceedings from the common law courts, and the High Commission case had to be dropped.[83]

As well as being coloured by his direct judicial experience of cases such as Prynne's, Donne's depiction of St Paul's ploy before the Sanhedrin – his 'likely and a

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[82] Quoted in Russell, *Parliament and English Politics, 1621-1629*, p. 383; *Proceedings in Parliament 1628*, III, 270.

[83] Kirby, *William Prynne*, p. 13.

lawfull way to divide them, and to gaine time' [IX, 167] – also reflects certain tenets of classical rhetorical theory and casuistry. For as Gregory Kneidel observes, 'dissention' in verse 7 of Donne's text translates the Greek term *stasis*, a term which in the rhetorical theory of Quintilian, and later of Hermogenes, also designates the exact legal issue or point of contention that is under consideration in a given case.[84] Stasis theory consists of four types of questions: conjectural ('Was the deed done?'); definitional ('What kind of deed was done?'); qualitative ('Was it a legal deed?'); and translative ('Are we trying the case in the right court?').[85] By raising such questions, a litigant could shift the focus of debate, gain advantage in court, or delay a court's judgement altogether. In the cases both of St Paul and William Prynne, their ends are translative. But as Kneidel points out, Donne shows that St Paul's means to this end are definitional; that is, he states that he has been brought before the authorities because he believes in the resurrection when the actual charge against him was '*teaching against that people, and against that law, and against that Temple.*' [IX, 167, quoting Acts 21.28.] This redefinition of the charge against him appeases the larger portion of Paul's audience, the Pharisees. Within the scene's judicial framework, Joshua Scodel suggests that Paul's objectives recall Donne's own life-long religious ideal of the 'temporary suspension [of judgement] and vigorous, passionate seeking' (*zêtêsis*).[86] Scodel suggests that Donne's understanding of the

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[84] 'John Donne's *Via Pauli*', *JEGP*, 100 (2001), 245-46.

[85] On stasis theory in general, see Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), Bk 3, Ch. 6; Hermogenes, *On Issues*, trans. Malcolm Heath (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 114-16.

[86] For *zêtêma* and related terms in Acts and the rest of the New Testament, see Heinrich Greeven, *s.v. zêteô* in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by Gerhard Kittel, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 9 vols (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), II, 892-96.

religious value of seeking (*zêtêsis*) is twofold. First, Donne associates proper *religious* 'Studiousnesse' with 'Temperance' in *Essays in Divinity*. 'Temperance' is distinguished from 'a groveling, frozen, and stupid Humility, as should quench the activity of our understanding', on the one hand, and the 'curiosity' that transgresses the bands of human knowledge on the other.[87] Second, the sceptical character of Donne's scriptural exposition derives from the classical Pyrrhonic tradition, described by Sextus Empiricus and embodied by Montaigne in his *Essais*.[88] Scodel states that, 'The Pyrrhonist suspends belief by opposing every dogmatic argument with a contradictory argument of apparently equal strength, pitting arguments from authority against one another.'[89]

In his sermon's topical application, Donne justifies St Paul's sceptical model of courtroom prudence as a means of avoiding schism within the Church. Donne substitutes factions within the English Church for Paul's Pharisees and Sadducees. In 1630, the significance of linking 'the Pharisee' with 'the Separatist' [IX, 168] would not have been lost on Donne's St Paul's auditory. For in that year the Arminian Archbishop Harsnet of York banned the sale in northern England of works by William Perkins and Zacharias Ursinus; and William Laud launched his campaign to discipline the Stranger Congregations of foreign refugees in London, arguing that these symbols

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[87] Scodel, 'John Donne and the Religious Politics of the Mean', in *John Donne's Religious Imagination*, ed. by Raymond-Jean Frontain and Frances Malpezzi, p. 62.

[88] Dominic Baker-Smith, 'John Donne's Critique of True Religion', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed., A. J. Smith (Methuen, 1972), pp. 404-52 (p. 408). See also, Margaret L. Wiley, *The Subtle Knot: Creative Scepticism in Seventeenth-Century England* (George Allen & Unwin, 1952), p. 99.

[89] *Sexti Empirici Opera* (1562), ed. and trans. Henri Étienne (Geneva, 1621), p. 40. (Cited by Scodel, p. 45, n. 22.) The Greek term for this form of contradictory equality is *isostheneia*.

of England's international Protestant friendships were 'nurseries of ill-minded persons to the Church of England'.[90] Donne shows how those who would separate from the Church gain advantage: 'when we [...] tear, and wound, and mangle one another with opprobrious contumelies, and odious names of sub-division in Religion'. [IX, 170.] Better, therefore, Donne urges, to imitate St Paul's more equivocal, though still tendentious, example of rhetorical argumentation. However, Donne is careful to distinguish between St Paul's acceptable strategy of delay, and unjustifiable religious hypocrisy in general. To that end, Annabel Patterson notes Donne's ironic treatment of 'geopolitical relativism' in his sermon, when he refers to the man who would, 'change his Divinity, as often as he changes his Coine, and when he turnes his Dutch Dollars into Pistolets, to go out of Germany, into Spain, turn his Devotion, and his religious worship according to the Clime'. [IX, 161-62.][91] Rather, Donne probes Paul's adroit yet principled responsiveness to the specific circumstances of the case: 'To an incompetent Judge I must not lie, but I may be silent, to a competent [judge] I must answer.' [IX, 163.]

Thus Donne imitates St Paul's casuistic rhetoric, in his pastoral acknowledgement of the moral difficulties of each case, and in his oratorical balance between lawyerly reason and affective appeal. In a sermon preached at St Paul's in November 1628, Donne commends St Jerome's observation that, 'wheresoever I open Saint *Pauls* Epistles, it is not a word or sentence, but a *clappe of Thunder*, that flieth out'. The poetic force of Paul's eloquence is, however, shrewdly wrought. For as Donne observes, if one attends to Paul's epistles, 'you will easily see how artificially, how

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[90] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 182-83; Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 65.

[91] Patterson, 'Donne in Shadows: Pictures and Politics', *JDJ*, 16 (1997), 1-35 (p. 30).

dexterously, how cunningly, and how discreetly he makes his use of those places which he citeth out of the Old Testament'. [VIII, 273.] Donne's praise for St Paul anticipates elegies on his own pulpit eloquence: 'Who with thy words could charme thy audience, / That at thy sermons, eare was all our sense'.[92] And in an apt description of the persuasiveness of his own sermon *elocutio*, Donne shows how St Paul puts his dextrous, cunning reason to spiritual ends, moving his readers in the manner of Augustine's *animarum ædificatio*:

> before Saint *Paul* have done with those words, *Fulmina sunt, & capiunt omne quod tangunt*, hee maketh you see, that they are flashes of lightning, and that they possesse, and melt, affect and dissolve every soul they touch. [VIII, 273.]

Lawyerly forms of moral reason and lyric imitation of scriptural eloquence, therefore, are the dual springs of Donne's depiction of the conformist English Protestant conscience. A favourite attribute in this depiction is the subtlety or agility of the human soul. Donne speaks of the soul having 'a spirituall agility, a holy nimblenesse in it, that it can slide by tentations, and passe through tentations, and never be polluted'. [VI, 73.] Yet, the qualities of agility and nimbleness are doubled-edged. In 'Metempsychosis' nimbleness is portrayed in a positive guise, used to illustrate the innocent soul's freedom from sin: 'To an unfettered soules quick nimble haste / Are falling stars, and hearts thoughts, but slow pac'd'.[93] In *Pseudo-Martyr*, however, agility connotes treasonous guile, for Donne describes Jesuitical sedition as operating through 'nimblenesse and dangerous activitie'.[94]

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[92] 'On Dr Donnes death: By Mr Mayne of Christchurch in Oxford', in *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (1633), p. 395.

[93] *Poems*, p. 321.

[94] *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. by A. Raspa, p. 25.

A further attribute of the human soul, which, like nimbleness, may be construed in both positive and pejorative lights, is suppleness, or ductility. Of the soul's receptiveness to divine grace, Donne observes that grace works only 'when the soule is soupled and mellowed'. [VI, 325.][95] Of political relations between and within states, Donne asserts that concord flourishes only when, 'civill contracts, civill alliances, civill concurrences, have soupled and intenerated the dispositions of persons, or nations'. [VII, 425.] Yet, like so many of Donne's rhetorical figures, the quality of suppleness suggests something of the *fallacia amphibologia* of sixteenth-century English logicians such as Thomas Blundeville and Ralph Lever: namely, the capacity of being interpreted in contradictory ways.[96] The Latin root of supple, *supplicem*, *supplex* (meaning 'suppliant'), supports this ambiguity, indicating a range of meaning from moral accommodation to active corruption. In his Easter Day sermon of 1626, for example, Donne remarks of the biblical interpretation of Church Fathers such as Tertullian and Chrysostom, that, 'some of them mollifie and souple the impossibility into a difficulty'. [VII, 111.] Here suppleness is associated with interpretative sleight of hand, or misrepresentation. Such remarks acquire contemporary urgency when seen in the light of the prevalence of judicial corruption in the period. In 1621 John Chamberlain had written of a parliamentary commission appointed to investigate judicial fraud: 'they find yt more then Hercules labour *purgare hoc stabulum Augiæ* of monopolies, patents, and the like'.[97] Similarly, in his Whitehall sermon of 12 February 1630, Donne exclaimed: 'Is there not yet

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[95] Cf. George Herbert, 'Let me be soft and supple to thy will.' (*The Temple*, 'Holy Baptisme II', l. 8.)

[96] Blundeville, *The Arte of Logicke* (1599), p. 93; Lever, *The Arte of Reason* (1573), pp. 195-96.

[97] Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 354 (to Dudley Carleton, 24 March 1621).

supplantation in Court, and mis-representations of men?' [IX, 182.][98] Once again, the topicality of Donne's remarks would not have been lost on his congregation, for only a year previously, in a notorious case, the power of royal influence had been more than evident in the short judicial shrift given to the parliamentarian Sir John Eliot by Donne's fellow judge-delegate Sir James Whitelocke.[99]

Regarding Donne's rhetorical compound of dialectical reason and scriptural eloquence, Thomas Sloane observes that, 'For reasoning on any matter Donne found controversial modes of thought a natural procedure. Then, when controversy produced extremes that eventually collapses in *a priori* truth, it remained the function of rhetorical form to place the action in our imagination, and heart.'[100] Throughout his sermons of 1624-1631, the a priori truth most certain to rouse Donne to his finest imaginative flights of rhetorical agility was the notion of God's judgement and mercy. In his Christmas sermon of 1624, for example, Donne is inspired to enact in prose the words of Psalm 101.1, '*I will sing of thy mercy and judgement*, sayes *David*'. [VI, 170.] Having traced the etymological root of the word 'mercy' to the Hebrew term *Racham*, which Donne renders in Latin as *diligere*, 'to love', Donne embarks on a

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[98] Three books owned by Donne, containing his distinctive pencil marks, take judicial corruption as their theme. Two are by the French jurist Charles Loyseau (1564-1627), *Discours de l'abus des justices de village* (Paris, 1605), and *Suitte du discours de l'abus des justices de village* (Paris, 1605); the third is by the Spanish Dominican, Domingo de Soto (1494-1570), *Institucion de como se a de euitor el abuso de los juramentos* (Antwerp, 1569). (Keynes, pp. 273, 276.)

[99] Whitelocke dismissed Eliot's claim for parliamentary privilege from prosecution, and accused him of 'sowing sedition to the destruction of the commonwealth'. (*A Compleat Collection of State-Tryals*, ed. by Thomas Salmon, 4 vols (Timothy Goodwin, 1719), III, 308.) For records of Eliot's case and judgement, see Inner Temple MS Miscellaneous 19, fols 241-66[v].

[100] Sloane, *Donne, Milton and the End of Humanist Rhetoric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 197.

sinuous dilation of the claim that 'as long as there hath been love (and *God is love*) there hath been mercy'. [VI, 170.]

> God takes all occasions to exercise that action, and to shed that mercy upon us: for particular mercies are feathers of his wings, and that prayer, *Lord let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee*, is our birdlime; particular mercies are that cloud of Quailes which hovered over the host of Israel, and that prayer, *Lord let thy mercy lighten upon us*, is our net to catch, our Gomer to fill of those Quailes. The aire is not so full of Moats, of Atomes, as the Church is of Mercies; and as we can suck in no part of aire, but we take in those Moats, those Atomes; so here in the Congregation we cannot suck in a word from the preacher, we cannot speak, we cannot sigh a prayer to God, but that that whole breath and aire is made of mercy. [VI, 170-71.]

In seamless fashion, Donne casts and recasts the images of mercy: as feathers, clouds of quails, atoms of air. Incantatory rhythm springs from the repetition of the *Te Deum*, '*Lord let thy mercy lighten upon us*'; it is enhanced by the remote alliteration of 'Moats' and 'Mercies', and is punctuated by shifts in lexical register, from the biblical, 'gomer', to the earthy, 'birdlime'. The propulsive, scene-shifting motion of the passage exemplifies the rhetorical device of *incrementum*, described by the Elizabethan rhetorician Angel Day as the technique 'where by degrees we not onley rise to the summe of eueriething but also sometimes go beyond'.[101] In his exploration of the fullness of 'mercy', the plenitude of the text, Donne emulates medieval Franco-Spanish Jewish exegetes such as Abraham Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Maimon, and Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi), known to him from sixteenth-century Catholic and Protestant biblical commentators such as Cajetan and Tremellius respectively.[102] As A. C. Partridge has remarked, 'The mythopoeic value of words was as essential to

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[101] Day, *The English Secretary, or Methode of Writing of Epistles and Letters* (1607), Pt 2, p. 91.

[102] For Donne's reference to rabbinical exegetes, see *Sermons*, X, 387, 396, 399. See also, Chanita Goodblatt, 'From "Tav" to the Cross: John Donne's Protestant Exegesis and Polemics', in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by M. A. Papazian, pp. 221-46 (pp. 222-26); and Dean Cameron Allen, 'Dean Donne Sets His Text', *JELH*, 10 (1943), 208-29.

Donne as to the fathers of biblical exegesis.'[103] In this vein, reasoning by similitude from adjunct (feathers, quails, atoms) to subject (mercy) – as Abraham Fraunce prescribes in *The Lawiers Logicke* – Donne peels back the layers of normal usage, carrying his auditory via a stream of deductions to his audacious final image: 'we cannot speak, we cannot sigh a prayer to God, but that that whole breath and aire is made of mercy.' [VI, 171.][104]

In conclusion, this chapter has sought to read Donne's Caroline sermons in the light of his manifold public duties – pastoral, decanal, and judicial – set in the context of 'the troubles of the time'. By so doing, a more sophisticated sense of the contiguous relation between the spiritual and topical applications of his pulpit oratory may begin to emerge. For in unpicking 'That subtile knot, which makes us man',[105] Donne uses the vocabulary, principles and procedures familiar to him from his service as a judge-delegate to express the juncture (or 'jointure' in Donne's terms) between the concentric realms of politics and theology. To this end, legal analogies drawn from testamentary, defamation, matrimonial and property law serve as vehicles for Donne's discreet allusion to theological and political topics of intense contemporary interest: 'Arminian' and 'Calvinist' battles over the doctrines of grace and bodily resurrection; governance of foreign and domestic affairs by due process of law instead of by royal decree; and the justified use of casuistic rhetoric to avoid 'unjust Judgement' when faced by a prejudicial court, secular or ecclesiastical. What emerges in particular from these late sermons is the practical, casuistic nature of Donne's

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[103] Partridge, *John Donne: Language and Style* (Andre Deutsch, 1978), p. 227.

[104] Fraunce, *The Lawiers Logicke* (1588), fol. 75v. (Cf. Alvin Sullivan, 'Donne's Sophistry and Certain Renaissance Books of Logic and Rhetoric', *SEL*, 22 (1982), 107-20.)

[105] *Poems*, p. 50.

judicial eloquence, encapsulated in his depiction of an accommodating, undogmatic model of Christian conscience, nimble and supple in the face of an array of moral cruces. In this depiction, therefore, faith and reason, zeal and discretion, are co-equal, yet distinct parts of the same whole. Or as Donne puts it in his earlier verse letter to the Countess of Bedford:

> Discretion is a wisemans Soule, and so
> Religion is a Christians, and you know
> How there are one, her *yea*, is not her *no*.
>
> Nor may we hope to sodder still and knit
> These two, and dare to breake them; nor must wit
> Be colleague to religion, but be it.[106]

[106] *Poems*, pp. 224-25.

Conclusion

In this study of the occasional nature of Donne's pulpit oratory, focussing on the years 1619-1631, a number of key findings emerge. First, I have demonstrated how Donne's analogy between *artes prædicandi* and ambassadorial rhetoric enables, to a greater degree than previously noted, exegetical allusion to politics and international Church affairs. A number of traits of diplomatic rhetoric (as categorised in contemporary manuals) are discernible in Donne's orations preached during the years of the Bohemia-Palatinate conflict, including the necessity of presenting a balanced case or speaking '*à chevall*', the justified use of ambiguity, and the adaptation of general principles to the case that is *sui generis*. In their sensitivity to exigencies of time, place and auditory, therefore, and in their emulation of the 'sober discretion' and political tact of the British delegates at the Synod of Dort, Donne's sermons embody Henry Wotton's shrewd advice to Milton on travelling to Rome: '*I pensieri stretti e il viso sciolto* will go safely over the whole world.'[1]

The cosmopolitan character of Donne's social and professional circles has been indicated by contacts ranging from English friends abroad in diplomatic posts, such as Sir Thomas Roe in Constantinople and Henry Wotton in Venice and Savoy, to Donne's reception of foreign visitors to London, such as the young Dutch secretary, Constantijn Huygens. For it is likely therefore that through such contacts Donne not only fostered further links with scholars, statesmen and divines from abroad (including Paolo Sarpi in Venice, Johannes Lamotius in The Hague, and Abraham Scultetus in Heidelberg), but also kept abreast of the latest developments in foreign affairs. Donne's underlying irenicism in matters of confessional conflict may now be seen to derive in part from his wide reading in the works of contemporary European

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[1] L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), II, 382.

authors (chiefly Spanish, Italian, French and German), on the diverse topics of Roman Catholic and Protestant theology, casuistry, and statecraft.

The second key finding of this thesis concerns the significant extent to which Donne's accommodating style of scriptural exposition bears the hallmarks of his training in civil, canon and common law. A key juridical trait in Donne's sermons lies in his emphasis on the civil lawyer's discriminating application of natural law, *functio naturæ*, in cases where positive laws conflict. Demonstration of Donne's use of the language of natural law also furnishes a link between specific aspects of Donne's theology and their corollaries in the political sphere. For instance, Donne's doctrine of grace, his 'hypothetical universalism', may be seen to find its political equivalent in Hugo Grotius's *ius gentium* or *droit des gens*, the emerging concept of international law. I have also shown how the sceptical, topical tone of early progenitors of a law of nations, such as the Bartolist civilian Alberico Gentilis, is felt in Donne's depiction of a pragmatic or '*cured*' concept of conscience; one which Donne favourably contrasts with a normative or '*seared*' concept of conscience. The judicious temper of Donne's adjudication in his sermons, between the opposing 'pro-intervention' and 'pro-Spanish Match' parties in British public life, also echoes a further aspect of contemporary legal culture. This is the focus of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century legal year books on the validity of judicial inaction. Lastly, a further parallel has been drawn between the dilatory character of Donne's biblical exposition – giving the appearance of thinking aloud at particularly difficult points – and the shaping of oral pleas by legal advocates (on the understanding that nothing would be written down on the court rolls until definite positions had been reached).

In these ways, I have sought in this thesis to demonstrate a more general facet of Donne's dialectical and rhetorical method in his 1619-1631 sermons – that is, his

notable willingness to hold competing points of view in visible, unresolved tension. This 'conjunctive' habit of mind, I submit, derives at least in part from Donne's schooling in the adversarial practices of common law pleading – first practiced in the moots and bolts of Lincoln's Inn. In the context of his homiletic prose, Donne's technique of 'case-putting' may be understood in terms of his aim to stimulate his congregation to suspend immediate judgement and bring a self-examining, rectified reason to bear on individual cases of conscience. To that end, this thesis has attempted to show how Donne employs an instrumental rather than prescriptive method in offering an ethical model for resolving the consciences of his auditory, in accord with the precepts of Protestant casuists such as William Perkins and Donne's close contemporary, Joseph Hall. I also show that Donne's development of a flexible, non-dogmatic concept of Christian conscience in his sermons draws on his practical experience of weighing evidence, hearing witnesses, and coming to decisions in his *ex officio* role as a judge-delegate in the higher Church courts.

In what areas of study might such findings prove significant? The first, most specialised area is the study of Donne's sermons themselves. Here, I would suggest that renewed attention paid to the juridical dimension of Donne's pulpit oratory, as well as to the cosmopolitan nature of his learning, roots such study more firmly in the general educational milieu of the period. Furthermore, though Donne's lawyerly, sceptical conjoining of opposites in his sermons is not unusual in the politics and theological discourse of the late Jacobean Church, what is exceptional is the degree and persistence with which he pursues such 'jointures'. This insight may suggest a potential revision of the time-honoured '*via media*' description of Donne's rhetorical and ethical method in his sermons, and his churchmanship in general. Indeed, the

insufficiency of this term when applied to Donne's religious identity is suggested by the frequent scholarly turn to adjectival qualification: to wit, Robert Whalen's description of Donne's 'idiosyncratic' *via media*, or Peter McCullough's rendering of Donne's 'almost unique *via media*'.[2] In emblematic terms, therefore, the three-dimensional Trinitarian *knot* of Donne's exegetical method – tying together strands of thought that nevertheless remain distinct from one another – should prove a fruitful alternative. This is in contrast to traditional Aristotelian concepts of political, religious, and rhetorical moderation in the period, such as the English Church's *via media* (which implies a more straightforward navigation between extremes). To a certain extent, recent revisionist historiography has attempted to refine the notion of the *via media* through the use of figures such as the 'spectrum' and 'array' of fluctuating, non-ideological religious and political positions. However, even the continua suggested by these two-dimensional images still fail, to a significant degree, to do justice to the ebb and flow of the messy, tangled nature of social and historical reality. As an apposite image for an individual's accommodation of apparently conflicting points of view, therefore, Donne's knotty exegesis may offer a closer simulacrum of the mentalités of the times.

For Donne studies in general, the findings of this thesis provide substantive evidence of the consistency of mind at work throughout Donne's poems and prose. For Donne's recurring imaginative habit, his delight in explicating apparent contradiction, informs both his treatment of poetic conceit (such as the Neoplatonic union of lovers) and theological relation (such as the co-equality of persons in the

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[2] Whalen, *The Poetry of Immanence: Sacrament in Donne and Herbert* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p. 109; McCullough, 'Donne as Preacher at Court: "Precarious Inthronization"', in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough, pp. 192-93.

Trinity). That Donne was regarded in his lifetime as *both* poet and preacher of God's word, is amply testified to by the twelve 'Elegies upon the Author' appended to the first edition of his poems in 1633. For in addition to Thomas Carew's well-known 'two Flamens', Edward Hyde also declares in '*On the death of Dr. Donne*' that, 'Hee then must write, that would define thy parts: / *Here lyes the best Divinitie, All the Arts.*'[3] With regard to my effort to demonstrate the scope of Donne's involvement with public affairs, Daniel Darnelly's Latin elegy for Donne is also instructive. For Darnelly tellingly compares Donne's persuasive oratory to the honeyed words of Nestor, wise mediator between Agamemnon and Achilles in the Trojan War: '*dum Nestoris ille / Fudit verba (omni quanto mage dulcia melle?)*'.[4] As a contemporary recognition of Donne's role as an astute and eloquent counsellor to kings, therefore, Darnelly's elegy lends further weight to the critical argument for emphasising Donne's thoroughgoing engagement in public life, as both poet and divine: '*Apollo's first, at last, the true Gods Priest.*'[5]

With regard to the broader topic of sermon studies in general, this thesis has emphasised the inherently occasional nature of much early modern preaching. By placing Donne's orations in their immediate historical contexts, even apparently unremarkable passages can reveal a contemporary urgency. To that end, my research has attempted to show how Donne uses legal and ambassadorial metaphors and analogies to channel potentially controversial topics of political and religious interest

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[3] *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (1633), sig. Ccc^{r} (p. 377). Other elegies in the same edition that pay particular attention to Donne's multifaceted accomplishments include those of Richard Corbet, Henry Valentine and Jasper Mayne.

[4] ['all the while he poured forth the words of Nestor (by how much sweeter than honey?)'] *The Poems of John Donne* (1912), ed. by H. J. C. Grierson, I, 391.

[5] Carew, '*An Elegie upon the death of the Deane of Pauls, Dr John Donne*'. (*Poems*, p. 396.)

into the more disinterested forms of professional discourse. While Jeanne Shami and Peter McCullough have effectively situated Donne's sermons in the midst of domestic political and ecclesiastical disputes, my work restores and reconsiders the contemporary resonance of Donne's oratory in the 1620s within its broader international framework. It should not be forgotten how far the confessional and constitutional struggles occupying mainland Europe shaped Jacobean and Caroline treatments of ideas as diverse as heroism, the millennium, and even natural philosophy.[6] In this respect too, therefore, this thesis has sought to contribute further to the ecclesiastical history of Britain in its wider European political and religious context.[7]

It remains only to outline possible areas for future study. These include excavating further biographical connexions between Donne and key figures, including the Countess of Bedford and the group of ministers and poets who moved around the Russell and Harrington families. The findings of this thesis suggest that such research may well provide further opportunities to study the detailed ways in which Donne tailored particular pieces of writing, of poetry or prose, according to its intended recipient or audience.

Clearly, more also remains to be discovered concerning Donne's ties with Reformed institutions and figures abroad, such as the court of the Duke of Bouillon in Amiens; or even concerning Donne's affinity with nonconformist religious groups

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[6] Reid Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 18-19.

[7] Cf. Diarmaid MacCullough, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (Allen Lane, 2003); Andrew Pettegree, *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

such as the Family of Love.[8] Other avenues of inquiry to follow up in the light of this thesis include Donne's connexion to members of the Reformed clergy serving the congregations of the stranger churches in London, such as the London Dutch at Austin Friars, or the French church in Threadneedle Street.[9] Further research into Donne's connexions with the parishioners of St Dunstan's such as Lady Caesar, wife of the Master of the Rolls, may also shed further light on his close and long-standing affinity with London's legal profession.

Lastly, recent bibliographical research that I have carried out in the Middle Temple Library seeks to extend current knowledge concerning the books that Donne owned.[10] By paying closer attention to the possible extent of Donne's library – as well as to visible marks of his reading in the books that are extant – we may gain at least some further insight into Donne's knowledge and interests in the broad field of controversial divinity prior to his ordination. Such research into Donne's treatment of his sources, and the range of his reading (chiefly in books by non-British authors), may thus provide the intellectual complement to this study's inquiry into the political and religious contexts for Donne's sermons.

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[8] I am grateful to Michael Questier for showing me the typescript of David Wooton's essay, 'Donne's Religion of Love'. To be published in December 2005 in *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion*, ed. by John Brooke and Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

[9] See, for example, Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London. The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).

[10] For an overview of Donne's library, see Keynes, pp. 258-79.

Appendix I:
Donne's literary references to the Thirty Years' War, 1619-1631

Dates/events	Sermon date	Sermon place, title, & text	Poems	Letters
23 May 1618. Defenestration of Prague. Donne, 46 yrs old. Sept 1618. Protestant forces capture Pilsen, Bohemia. Jan 1619. Catholic League re-forms. Mar 1619. Queen Anne's death. Smallpox in London. James I dangerously ill with stone.				19 Mar 1619, to Henry Goodere
	18 Apr 1619	*Sermon of Valediction - Lincoln's Inn* Ecclesiastes 12.1 [II, 235-49]		
12 May 1619 – 1 Jan 1620. Donne w/ Doncaster in Brussels, Cologne, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, The Hague.	16 Jun 1619	*First Sermon in Heidelberg* Romans 13.11 [II, 250-68]		
				31 Aug 1619, to Dudley Carleton.
26 Aug 1619. Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate becomes King of Bohemia. 28 Aug 1619. Ferdinand elected Holy Roman Emperor.				10 Sept 1619, to Dudley Carleton
	19 Dec 1619	*At the Hague* Matthew 4.18-20 [II, 269-86]		
	19 Dec 1619	*At the Hague* Matthew 4.18-20 [II, 287-310]		
	30 Jan 1620	*Lincoln's Inn* John 5.22 [II, 311-24]		
	30 Jan 1620	*Lincoln's Inn* John 8.15 [II, 325-34]		
Mar 1620. The Mühlhausen Guarantee. 16 Sept 1620. Pilgrim Fathers sail to New England. 8 Nov 1620. A Catholic League army, led by the Bavarian General Johann von Tilly, routs the Bohemians, led by Christian of Anhalt, at Weisserberg (White Mountain), near Prague. 24 Nov 1620. First news of Elector's defeat reaches London.	?Late Nov 1620	*Lincoln's Inn* Matthew 18.7 [III, 156-70]		'A Hymne to Christ, at the Authors last going into Germany'

Dates/events	Sermon date	Sermon place, title, & text	Poems	Letters
Palatine royal family flees to Silesia, then Netherlands (Hague).	?Late Nov 1620	*Lincoln's Inn* Matthew 18.7 [III, 171-86]		
24 Dec 1620. Royal proclamation 'against excess of lavish speech' 30 Jan 1621. Opening of Parliament; adjourned 4 Jun.	7 Jan 1621	*To Countess of Bedford, Harrington House* Job 13.15 [III, 187-205]		
Bacon impeached (replaced by John Williams). Also Sir Giles Mompesson & others impeached for holding monopolies. Apr 1621. Mainz ceasefire. Protestant Union dissolved.				
26 Jul 1621. Second proclamation against lavish speech. Second parliamentary session opens 21 Nov 1621. Dissolved 30 Dec 1621.				30 Aug 1621, to Henry Goodere. 5 Oct 1621, to ?Thomas Lucy. 11 Oct 1621, to Henry Goodere. 25 Oct 1621, to Henry Goodere. 1 Dec 1621, to Thomas Roe.
Jan 1622. Bethlen Gabor makes peace with Emperor Ferdinand. 11 Feb 1622. Donne takes up deanship of St Paul's.	2 Feb ?1622	*Candlemas Day, St Paul's* [?] Romans 12.20 [III, 376-87]		
Apr 1622. Protestant Union (Mansfeld & Frederick) defeats Tilly's army at Wiesloch. Jun 1622. Tilly defeats the armies of Christian of Brunswick & The Margrave of Baden. Aug 1622. Mansfeld accepts Dutch offer & marches to relieve Bergen-op-Zoom.	?Whitsun 1622	*St Paul's* Romans 8.16 [V, 58-76]		
16 Sept 1622. Heidelberg taken by Tilly.	15 Sep 1622	*Paul's Cross – Directions to Preachers* Judges 5.20 [IV, 178-209]	'Show me deare Christ'	24 Sep 1622, to Henry Goodere.
	13 Oct 1622	*Paul's Cross* John 1.8 [IV, 210-34]	'Lamentations of Jeremiah, for the most part after Tremellius'	

Dates/events	Sermon date	Sermon place, title, & text	Poems	Letters
	?Autumn1622	*St Paul's* Psalms 90.14 [V, 268-95]		18 Oct 1622, to Henry Goodere.
5 Nov 1622. Mannheim surrenders (Sir Horace Vere).	5 Nov 1622	*Gunpowder Plot - St Paul's* Lamentations 4.20 [IV, 235-63]		
	25 Dec 1622	*St Paul's* Colossians 1.19-20 [IV, 11]		
	2 Feb 1623	*St Paul's* Romans 13.7 [IV, 12]		
23 Feb 1623. Charles & Buckingham travel to Spain. Mar 1623. Frankenthal handed over to forces of Archduchess Isabella	28 Mar 1623	*St Paul's* Acts 2.36 [IV, 13]		
5 Oct 1623. Charles & Buckingham return from Spain.				July 1623, to Henry Goodere.
	1 Nov 1623	*St Paul's* Revelation 7.2-3 [X, 1]		
End Nov 1623. Donne's serious illness. *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions.* Donne, 51 yrs old.				
Jan 1624. Earl of Bristol recalled from Madrid.	11 April 1624	*St Dunstan's* Deuteronomy 25.5 [VI, 3]		
Mar 1625. War with Spain. Nov 1625. Failed Anglo-Dutch assault on Cadiz. Feb 1626. York House Conference regarding Richard Montagu's alleged Arminianism.				
Apr 1626. Defeat of Protestant forces at Dessau Bridge, Germany.	16 Apr 1626	*To the King at Whitehall* John 14.2 [VII, 4]		
Swedish victory over Poles (Wallhof). Bethlen Gabor invades Moravia. 1626-27. James VI & I's Forced Loan.	21 May 1626	*St Paul's* I Corinthians 15.29 [VII, 6]		
Jun 1627. War with France.	25 Dec 1627	*St Paul's* Exodus 4.13 [VIII, 5]		

Dates/events	Sermon date	Sermon place, title, & text	Poems	Letters
Aug 1628. Assassination of Buckingham. Apr 1629. Peace of Susa between France and Britain.	20 Feb 1629	*Whitehall* James 1.12 [VIII, 15]		
	25 Jan 1630	*St Paul's* Acts 23.6-7 [IX, 6]		
Nov 1630. Peace of Madrid (Britain and Spain). 31 March 1631. Donne dies, 59 yrs old.				

Appendix II:
Bibliography of Donne sermons cited

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
12 Feb 1619. *Whitehall* Ezekiel 33.32	No MS	*XXVI* [2]	V. 133	II, 164-78
21 Feb 1619. *At the Cockpit* Matthew 21.44	*M* [16, fols 87^{r}-93^{v}]	*Fifty* [35]	V. 116	II, 179-96
18 Apr 1619. *Sermon of Valediction, Lincoln's Inn* Ecclesiastes 12.1	*M* [10, fols 53^{r}-59^{v}] Also in *D*, *L*, *Dob*, *A*, *S*, *E*	*XXVI* [19]	VI. 148	II, 235-49
16 Jun 1619. *First Sermon in Heidelberg* Romans 13.11	No MS	*XXVI* [20]	VI. 149	II, 250-68
19 Dec 1619. *At the Hague* Matthew 4.18-20	No MS	*LXXX* [71]	III. 71	II, 269-86
19 Dec 1619. *At the Hague* Matthew 4.18-20	No MS	*LXXX* [72]	III. 72	II, 287-310
30 Jan 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* John 5.22	*M* [12, fols 66^{r}-72^{r}] Also in *D*, *L*, *E*	*Fifty* [12]	IV. 93	II, 311-24
30 Jan 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* John 8.15	*M* [13, fols 72^{v}-76^{v}] Also in *D*, *L*, *E*	*Fifty* [13]	IV. 94	II, 325-34
12 Feb 1620. *Sir Francis Nethersole's Marriage* Genesis 2.18	*M* [24, fols 146^{r}-149^{v}]	*Fifty* [2]	IV. 82	II, 335-47
3 Mar 1620. *Whitehall* Amos 5.18	*M* [19, fols 110^{r}-115^{r}]	*LXXX* [14]	I. 15	II, 348-63
2 Apr 1620. *Whitehall* Ecclesiastes 5.13	No MS	*XXVI* [10]	V. 141	III, 47-72

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
30 Apr 1620. *Whitehall, before the King* Psalm 144.15	*M* [14, fols 78^{r}-84^{v}]	*LXXX* [74]	III. 74	III, 73-90
? Easter Term 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* Job 19.26	No MS	*Fifty* [14]	IV. 95	III, 91-113
? Easter Term 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* I Corinthians 15.50	No MS	*Fifty* [15]	IV. 96	III, 114-33
Trinity Sunday 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* Genesis 18.25	No MS	*LXXX* [42]	II. 40	III, 134-55
?Late Nov 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* Matthew 18.7	No MS	*Fifty* [17]	IV. 98	III, 156-70
?Late Nov 1620. *Lincoln's Inn* Matthew 18.7	No MS	*Fifty* [18]	IV. 99	III, 171-86
7 Jan 1621. *To Countess of Bedford, Harrington House* Job 13.15	No MS	*Fifty* [30]	IV. 111	III, 187-205
16 Feb 1621. *Whitehall, before the King* I Timothy 3.16	*M* [21, fols 123^{r}-129^{r}] Also in *P*	*XXVI* [4]	V. 135	III, 206-25
8 Apr 1621. *Whitehall* Proverbs 25.16	No MS	*LXXX* [70]	III. 70	III, 225-40
30 May 1621. *Marriage of Mistress Margaret Washington* Hosea 2.19	*M* [25, fols 150^{r}-155^{v}] Also in *P*	*Fifty* [3]	IV. 83	III, 241-55
? Trinity Term 1621. *Lincoln's Inn* II Corinthians 1.3	No MS	*LXXX* [38]	II. 36	III, 256-73
? Trinity Term 1621. *Lincoln's Inn* I Peter 1.17	No MS	*LXXX* [39]	II. 37	III, 274-91
? Trinity Term 1621. *Lincoln's Inn* I Corinthians 16.22	No MS	*LXXX* [40]	II. 38	III, 292-312

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
? Trinity Term 1621. *Lincoln's Inn* Psalms 2.12	No MS	*LXXX* [41]	II. 39	III, 313-31
? *Lincoln's Inn* Colossians 1.24	*M* [25, fols 103^{r}-109^{r}] Also in *D, L, E*	*Fifty* [16]	IV. 97	III, 332-47
Christmas Day 1621. *St Paul's* John 1.8	No MS	*Fifty* [36]	V. 117	III, 348-75
2 Feb ?1622. *Candlemas Day, ?St Paul's* Romans 12.20	No MS	*LXXX* [10]	III. 63	III, 376-87
8 Mar 1622. *Whitehall* I Corinthians 15.26	*M* [23, fols 139^{r}-145^{r}] Also in *E*	*LXXX* [15]	I. 12	IV, 45-62
Easter Day ?1622. *?St Paul's* I Thessalonians 4.17	No MS	*LXXX* [26]	I. 24	IV, 63-88
Easter Monday 1622. *Spital Cross, St Mary's w/out Bishopgate* II Corinthians 4.6	*M* [26, fols 156^{r}-171^{r}] Also in *P*	*XXVI* [25]	VI. 154	IV, 89-131
30 May, Ascension Day 1622. *Lincoln's Inn* Deuteronomy 12.30	No MS	*XXVI* [23]	VI. 152	IV, 132-44
?Whitsunday 1622. *St Paul's* Romans 8.16	No MS	*LXXX* [34]	II. 32	V, 58-76
24 Jun 1622 [Midsummer Day]. *St Paul's* John 1.8	No MS	*Fifty* [37]	V. 118	IV, 145-62
25 Aug 1622. *To Earl of Carlisle at Hanworth* Job 36.25	No MS	*Fifty* [31]	IV. 112	IV, 163-77
15 Sep 1622. *Paul's Cross – Directions to Preachers* Judges 5.20	No MS	Published separately in 1622	VI. 155	IV, 178-209
13 Oct 1622. *Paul's Cross* John 1.8	No MS	*Fifty* [38]	V. 119	IV, 210-34

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
?Autumn 1622. *St Paul's* Psalms 90.14	No MS	*LXXX* [79]	III. 79	V, 268-95
5 Nov 1622. *Gunpowder Plot – St Paul's* Lamentations 4.20	*G*	*Fifty* [43]	V. 124	IV, 235-63
13 Nov 1622. *Company of Virginian Plantation* Acts 1.8	No MS	Published separately in 1622	VI. 156	IV, 264-82
25 Dec 1622. *St Paul's* Colossians 1.19-20	No MS	*LXXX* [1]	I. 1	IV, 283-302
2 Feb ?1623. *Candlemas Day* Romans 13.7	No MS	*LXXX* [9]	I. 9	IV, 303-23
28 Feb 1623. *Whitehall, first Friday in Lent* John 11.35	No MS	*LXXX* [16]	I. 13	IV, 324-44
28 Mar 1623. *Easter Day, in the evening. St Paul's* Acts 2.36	No MS	*LXXX* [18]	I. 16	IV, 345-61
22 May 1623. *Encænia. Ascension Day Lincoln's Inn* John 10.22	No MS	Published separately in 1623	Omitted	IV, 362-82
Apr, May, Jun 1623. *Penitential Psalms* Psalms 6-10	No MS	*LXXX* [55]	II. 53	VI, 39-61
Whitsunday ?1623. *St Paul's* Matthew 12.21	No MS	*LXXX* [35]	II. 33	V, 77-95
1 Nov ?1623. *All Saints' Day. St Paul's* Apocalypse 7.2-3	No MS	*LXXX* [45]	II. 43	X, 41-64
2 Feb ?1624. *Candlemas Day. St Paul's* Matthew 5.16	No MS	*LXXX* [8]	I. 8	X, 84-102
Easter Day 1624. *St Paul's* Revelation 20.6	No MS	*LXXX* [19]	I. 17	VI, 62-80

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
11 April 1624. *St Dunstan's* Deuteronomy 25.5	No MS	*Fifty* [45]	V. 126	VI, 81-94
25 April 1624. *St Dunstan's* Psalms 34.11	No MS	*Fifty* [46]	V. 127	VI, 95-113
Whitsunday 1624. ?*St Paul's* Corinthians 12.3	No MS	*LXXX* [32]	II. 30	VI, 114-131
Trinity Sunday, 1624. *St Dunstan's* Matthew 3.17	No MS	*LXXX* [43]	II. 41	VI, 132-149
13 Jun 1624. *To Earl of Exeter at St John's Chapel* Revelation 7.9	No MS	*Fifty* [32]	IV. 113	VI, 150-67
Christmas Day 1624. *St Paul's* Isaiah 7.14	No MS	*LXXX* [2]	I. 2	VI, 168-85
4 Mar 1625. *Whitehall* Matthew 19.17	No MS	*LXXX* [17]	I. 7	VI, 223-40
3 Apr 1625. *First sermon to King Charles at St James's* Psalms 11.3	No MS	Published separately in 1625	Omitted	VI, 241-61
Whitsunday ?1625. ?*St Paul's* John 16.8-11	No MS	*LXXX* [36]	II. 34	VI, 311-30
15 Jan 1626. *St Dunstan's* Exodus 12.30	No MS	*XXVI* [21]	VI. 150	VI, 349-66
24 Feb 1626. *To the King at Whitehall* Isaiah 50.1	No MS	Published separately in 1626	Omitted	VII, 72-93
Easter Day 1626. *St Paul's, in the evening* I Corinthians 15.29	No MS	*LXXX* [21]	I. 19	VII, 94-117
16 Apr 1626. *To the King at Whitehall* John 14.2	No MS	*LXXX* [73]	III. 73	VII, 118-40

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
30 Apr 1626. *To the Household at Whitehall* Matthew 9.13	No MS	*XXVI* [8]	V. 139	VII, 141-63
21 May 1626. *St Paul's* I Corinthians 15.29 (second sermon on this text)	No MS	*LXXX* [77]	III. 77	VII, 164-89
21 Jun 1626. *St Paul's* I Corinthians 15.29 (third sermon on this text)	No MS	*LXXX* [78]	III. 78	VII, 190-214
5 Nov 1626. *Third Prebend sermon, St Paul's* Psalms 64.10	No MS	*LXXX* [67]	III. 67	VII, 237-56
12 Dec 1626. *At the funeral of Sir William Cockayne* John 11.21	No MS	*LXXX* [80]	III. 80	VII, 257-78
Candlemas 1627. ?*St Paul's* Matthew 5.8	No MS	*LXXX* [12]	I. 10	VII, 325-48
Easter Day 1627. *St Paul's* Hebrews 11.35	No MS	*LXXX* [22]	I. 20	VII, 370-92
1Apr 1627. *To the King at Whitehall.* Mark 4.24	No MS	*Fifty* [27]	IV. 108	VII, 393-414
6 May 1627. *St Paul's Cross* Hosea 3.4	No MS	*Fifty* [41]	V. 122	VII, 415-33
Whitsunday 1672. *St Paul's* John 14.26	No MS	*LXXX* [28]	I. 26	VII, 434-54
1 July 1627. Commemoration of the Lady Danvers at Chelsea 2 Peter 3.13	No MS	Published separately in 1627	VI. 157	VIII, 61-93
Nov or Dec 1627. *Fifth Prebend sermon, St Paul's* Psalms 66.3	No MS	*LXXX* [69]	III. 69	VIII, 110-29
Christmas Day 1627. *St Paul's* Exodus 4.13	No MS	*LXXX* [5]	I. 5	VIII, 130-56

Sermon date, place, title & text	MS	Printed Folios	Alford	Potter & Simpson
29 Feb 1628. *Whitehall* Acts 7.60	No MS	*XXVI* [15]	V. 146	VIII, 174-91
23 Nov 1628. *St Paul's, in the evening* Proverbs 14.31	No MS	*Fifty* [42]	V. 123	VIII, 270-91
Christmas Day 1628. *St Paul's* Isaiah 53.1	No MS	*LXXX* [6]	I. 6	VIII, 292-311
30 Jan 1629. *St Paul's, on the day of St Paul's Conversion* Acts 28.6	No MS	*LXXX* [48]	II. 46	VIII, 312-34
20 Feb 1629. *Whitehall* James 2.12	No MS	*XXVI* [3, 17]	V. 134	VIII, 335-54
Easter Day 1629. ?*St Paul's* Job 4.18	No MS	*LXXX* [24]	I. 22	VIII, 355-74
25 Jan 1630. *St Paul's, on the day of St Paul's Conversion* Acts 23.6	No MS	*LXXX* [49]	II. 47	IX, 155-72
12 Feb 1630. *To the King at Whitehall* Matthew 6.21	No MS	*XXVI* [5]	V. 136	IX, 173-88

Key to Manuscripts:[1]

A. *Ashmole* (Bodl. MS Ashmole 781)
Dob. *Dobell* (Harvard College Library fMS Eng 966.4)
D. *Dowden* (Bodl. MS Eng.th.e.102)
E. *Ellesmere* (ULC Add. MS 8489)
G. *Gunpowder Plot Sermon, 1622* (BL MS Royal 17.B.xx)
L. *Lothian* (National Library of Scotland MS 5767)
M. *Merton* (Bodl. MS Eng.th.c.71)
P. *St Paul's* (St Paul's Cathedral MS 52.D.14)

[1] For descriptions of the *Ashmole*, *Dobell*, *Dowden*, *Lothian*, *Merton* and *St Paul's* manuscripts, see *Sermons*, I, 33-45; for the *Ellesmere* manuscript, see *Sermons*, II, 365-71; for MS Royal 17.B.xx, see J. Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1996), pp. 1-24.

Appendix III:
List of Donne's Appointments as Judge-Delegate, 1622-1631

Date	*Case*	*Court*	*Donne's role*
1622			
Jun ?	Piggott *v.* Corbett	DEL	Appointed judge
Oct 21	Piggott *v.* Corbett	DEL	Sits at hearing
1623			
Jan 29	Coniers *v.* Sunderland	DEL	Appointed judge
Oct 9	Coniers *v.* Sunderland	DEL	Sits at hearing
Nov 15	Piggott *v.* Corbett	DEL	Sits at hearing
Nov 22	Piggott *v.* Corbett	DEL	Sits at hearing
1626			
Jul 9	Williamson *v.* Hilles	DEL	Appointed judge
Aug 18	Williamson *v.* Hilles	DEL	Sits at hearing
Oct 9	Arnold *v.* Morgan (matrimonial)	DEL	Sits at hearing
1627			
Feb 10	Arnold *v.* Morgan (matrimonial)	DEL	Sits at hearing
Mar 10	Drewett *v.* Tomes	DEL	Sits at hearing
Apr 19	George Huntley	HC	Signs sentence
Oct 11	William Prynne (defamation)	HC	Signs summons
Oct 31	Thorrold v. Havers (matrimonial)	DEL	Sits at hearing
Nov 10	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Appointed judge
Nov ?	Viscountess Purbeck (matrimonial)	HC	Signs sentence
Nov 22	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Sits at hearing
1628			
Jan 30	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Sits at hearing
Feb 7	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Sits at hearing
May 8	Chaundler *v.* Weston	DEL	Sits at hearing
July 8	Drewett *v.* Tomes	DEL	Sits at hearing
July 19	Vaughan *v.* Colmer (testamentary)	DEL	Sits at hearing
Aug 27	Aunger v. Lisley	DEL	Sits at hearing
Sep 27	Aunger v. Lisley	DEL	Sits at hearing
1629			
May 1	Drewett *v.* Tomes	DEL	Signs sentence
June 9	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Appointed judge
June 22	Bishop of Salisbury *v.* dean & chapter	DEL	Signs sentence
June 26	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Appointed judge
Dec 3	Chaundler *v.* Weston	DEL	Signs sentence
1630			
Jan 26	Arnold *v.* Morgan (matrimonial)	DEL	Signs sentence
Jan 29	Wagstaffe *v.* Cockayne	DEL	Sits at hearing
Feb 1	Vaughan *v.* Colmer (testamentary)	DEL	Signs sentence
Feb 9	Denne *v.* Sparkes	DEL	Appointed judge
May 4	Cowpland *v.* Senhouse	DEL	Appointed judge
May 7	Bridgman *v.* Gregorie	DEL	Appointed judge

Key:
DEL Court of Delegates
HC Court of High Commission

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Dobell	Cambridge, MA, Harvard College Library, fMS Eng 966.4
Dowden	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.th.e.102
Ellesmere	Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS 8489
Lothian	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 5767
Merton	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.th.c.71
St Paul's	London, St Paul's Cathedral Library, MS 52.D.14
Gunpowder Plot Sermon, 1622	London, British Library, MS Royal 17.B.xx

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MS Firth C. 23	Broadside ballads – on Prince Charles's journey to Spain, 1623
MS Tanner 74	Privy Council letters to British delegates at the Synod of Dort
MS Wood 401	Broadside ballads

British Library, London

MS Birch 4174	John Chamberlain letter to Dudley Carleton, 30 May 1623
MS Egerton 2592	Letters pertaining to Doncaster embassy to Germany 1619
MS Harley 5265	Moute cases Lincolnes Inne 6 Februarii 1596

East Sussex Record Office, Lewes

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MS 25630/7	St Paul's Cathedral: Dean's registers, Chapter act books, and Chapter minute books, 1621-1631

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MS Ellesmere 1117	Ashley, Robert, *In Praise of Honour* (n.d.)

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(Note: The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.
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_____ *The Barren Tree. A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse October 26 1623* (Aug. Mathewes for Iohn Grismond, 1623)

_____ *The Gallants Burden. A sermon preached at Paules Crosse* (W. W[hite] for Clement Knight, 1612)

_____ *The sinners mourning habite*, in *Three Sermons preached 1. In Whitehall, March 29. being the first Tuesday after the departure of King Iames into blessednesse. 2. In Christs Church, at the trienniall visitation of the right Reuerend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London. 3. In the chappell by Guildhall, at the solemne election of the Right Honourable the Lord Maior of London* (Aug. Mathewes and Iohn Norton, 1625)

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Anon., *A declaration of the causes, for the which, wee Frederick, by the grace of God King of Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Elector of the sacred empire, &c. haue accepted of the crowne of Bohemia, and of the countryes thereunto annexed* (Middleburg [i.e. London]: Abraham Schilders [i.e. William Jones? or William Stansby?], 1620)

Anon., *An ansvvere to the question: vvhether the Emperour that now is, can bee iudge in the Bohemian controuersie or no? Together with the extract taken out of the acts of the Dyet at Auspurghe, in the yeare 1584: concerning the kingdome of Bohemia* (W. Jones? or W. Stansby?, 1620)

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Anon., *More nevves from the Palatinate; and more comfort to euery true Christian, that either fauoureth the cause of religion, or wisheth well to the King of Bohemia's proceedings. According to faithfull and honest letters, sent ouer since the beginning of March, and now published for the satisfaction of euery true English heart* (1622)

Anon., *Nevves from Bohemia. An apologie made by the states of the Kingdome of Bohemia, shewing the reasons why those of the reformed religion were moued to take armes, for the defence of the King and themselues, especially against the dangerous sect of Iesuites. With a plaine declaration, that those who belong vnto the monasteries and ecclesiasticall iurisdiction (according vnto his Maiesties letters, and agreements made betweene the states of the reformed religion and the Papists) haue good right, as being subiects of the Imperiall Maiestie, to the peaceable exercise of their diuine seruice, and building of churches. Translated out of Dutch into Latine, and thence into English, by Will. Philip* (George Purslow for Ralph Rounthwaite, 1619)

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Mr. Iohn Burges: wherin he laboureth to prooue, that hauing heretofore subscribed foure times, and now refusing (as a thing vnlawfull) that he hath notwithstanding done lawfully in both (G. S[nowdon]. for Clement Knight, 1606)

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_____ *The spirituall vvatch, or Christs generall watch-word. A meditation on Mark. 13. 37* (Iohn Haviland for William Bladen, 1622)

_____ *Tvvo funeral sermons, much of one and the same subiect; to wit, the benefit of death. The former on Philip. 1. 23. The latter on Eccles. 7. 1.* (Edward Griffin for William Bladen, 1620)

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Gee, John, *Hold fast, a sermon preached at Pauls Crosse vpon Sunday being the xxxi. of October, Anno Domini 1624* (A. M[athewes] and I. N[orton] for Robert Mylbourne, 1624)

_____ *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the priests and Iesuites in England. Whereunto is added a catalogue of popish bookes lately dispersed in our kingdome. The printers, binders, sellers and dispersers of such bookes. Romish priests and Iesuites resident about London. Popish physicians practising about London. The fourth edition, carrying also a gentle excuse vnto Master Musket for stiling him Iesuite* (H. L[ownes]. for Robert Milbourne, 1624)

Gentili, Alberico, *De abusu mendaci* (Hanover, 1599)

*_____ *In Titulum Digestorum De Verborum Significatione Commentarius* (Hanover, 1614)

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Goad, Thomas, *The dolefull euen-song, or A true, particular and impartiall narration of that fearefull and sudden calamity, which befell the preacher Mr. Drury a Iesuite, and the greater part of his auditory, by the downefall of the floore at an assembly in the Black-Friers on Sunday the 26. of Octob. last, in the after noone. Together with the rehearsall of Master Drurie his text, and the diuision thereof, as also an exact catalogue of the names of such as perished by this lamentable accident: and a briefe application thereupon* (Iohn Hauiland for William Barret and Richard Whitaker, 1623)

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*Grácian, Geronimo, *Iosephina* (Brussels, 1609)

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Hakewill, George, *King Dauids vow for reformation of himselfe. his family. his kingdome. Deliuered in twelue sermons before the Prince his Highnesse vpon Psalm 101* (Printed [by Humphrey Lownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1621)

Hales, John, *Golden remains, of the ever memorable, Mr. John Hales, of Eaton-Colledge, &c. The second impression. With additions from the authours own copy, viz. sermons & miscellanies. Also letters and expresses concerning the Synod of Dort, (not before printed,) from an authentick hand* (Tho. Newcomb for Robert Pawlet, 1673)

Hall, Joseph, *A sermon preached at the happily-restored and reedified chappell of the Right Honorable the Earle of Exceter in his house, of S. Iohns. On Saint Stephens day. 1623* (F. Kyngston for George Winder, 1624)

_____ *Cases of conscience practically resolved: containing a decision of the principall cases of conscience, of daily concernment, and continual use amongst men. Very necessary for their information and direction in these evil*

times. The third edition much inlarged (R[ichard]. H[odgkinson]. and J[ohn]. G[rismond]. for Fr: Eglesfield, 1654)

_____ *The best bargaine. A sermon preached to the Court at Theobalds. on Sunday, Sept. 21. 1623* (I. Haviland for Nath. Butter, 1623)

_____ *The true peace-maker: laid forth in a sermon before his Maiesty at Theobalds. September 19, 1624* (I. Haviland for Nath. Butter, 1624)

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Harris, Robert, *Gods goodnes and mercy. Layd open in a sermon, preached at Pauls-Crosse on the last of Iune. 1622* (Iohn Davvson for Iohn Bartlet, 1622)

_____ *Peters enlargement vpon the prayers of the Church* (I. D[awson] for Iohn Bartlett, 1624)

Harrison, John, *A short relation of the departure of the high and mightie Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia: with his royall & vertuous Ladie Elizabeth; and the thryse hopefull yong Prince Henrie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to receiue the crowne of that kingdome. Whearvnto is annexed the solempnitie or maner of the coronation. Translated out of Dutch* (Dort: George Waters, 1619)

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Hexam, Henry, *A tongue-combat, lately happening betvveene tvvo English souldiers in the tilt-boat of Grauesend, the one going to serue the King of Spaine, the other to serue the States Generall of the Vnited Provinces. Wherein the cause, course, and continuance of those warres, is debated, and declared* (1623)

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Privy Council to His late most sacred Majesty King Charles the First, second Monarch of Great Britain. Containing also the ecclesiastical history of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland from his first rising till his death (Printed I.M. for A. Seile, 1671)

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aduersarie, and satisfaction of the indifferent Christian, not blinded with partialitie and preiudicate opinion (R. Field for Richard Fleming, 1619)

Jackson, Thomas, *Iudah must into captivitie. Six sermons on Ierem. 7.16. Lately preached in the Cathedrall Church of Christ in Canterburie, and elsevvhere* (I. Haviland for Godfrey Emondson and Nicholas Vavasour, 1622)

_____ *An helpe to the best bargaine. A sermon on Mat. 13.46. Preached on Sunday, the 26 of Octob. 1623. in the Cathedrall Church of Christ, Canterbury* (Nich. Okes for Mat. Walbanke, 1624)

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Johnson, Robert, *The necessity of faith; or, Nothing more necessarie for a Christian, than a true sauing faith. Preached before the Prince His Highnesse at S. Iames, the fiue and twentith [sic] of Ianuary, 1623* (H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1624)

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*_____ *A sermon preached at White-Hall the 5. day of November. ann. 1608* (Oxford: Ioseph Barnes, 1608)

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Lawrence, John, *A golden trumpet, to rowse vp a drowsie magistrate: or, A patterne for a governors practise, drawne from Christs comming to, beholding of, and weeping ouer Hierusalem. As it was founded at Pauls Crosse the 11. of Aprill, 1624* (Iohn Haviland, 1624)

Lee, Richard, *The spirituall spring. A sermon preached at Pauls, vvherein is declared the necessity of growing in grace, and the goodly gaine that comes thereby* (T[homas] S[nodham] for Samuel Man, 1625)

Lever, Ralph. *The arte of reason, rightly termed, witcraft, teaching a perfect way to argue and dispute* (H. Bynneman, 1573)

Loe, William, *The kings shoe. Made, and ordained to trample on and to treade downe Edomites; to teach in briefe, what is Edoms doome; what the carefull condition of a king, what the loyall submission of a subiect, and what proiects are onely to best purpose. Deliuered in a sermon before the king at Theobalds, October the ninth, 1622* (I. L[egat] for William Sheffard, 1623)

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Montagu, Richard, *Immediate addresse vnto God alone. First deliuered in a sermon before his Maiestie at Windsore. Since reuised and inlarged to a just treatise of inuocation of saints. Occasioned by a false imputation of M. Antonius De Dominis vpon the authour, Richard Mountagu* (London: William Stansby for Matthew Lownes and William Barret, 1624)

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Peacham, Henry, *The garden of eloquence conteyning the figures of grammer and rhetorick, from whence maye bee gathered all manner of flowers, coulors, ornaments, exornations, formes and fashions of speech, very profitable for all those that be studious of eloquence, and that reade most eloquent poets and orators, and also helpeth much for the better vnderstanding of the holy Scriptures* (H. Iackson, 1577)

Pemberton, William, *The charge of God and the King, to iudges and magistrates, for execution of iustice. In a sermon preached before Sr Henry Hobart Knight and Baronet, Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas: and Sr Robert Haughton Knight, one of the iudges of the Kings Bench, at the Assises at Hartford* (Edward Griffin for Samuel Man, 1619)

*Perier, Ieremie, *Historie remarquable et veritable de ce qui s'est passé par chacun iour au siège de la ville d'Ostende, de part & d'autre iusques à present* (Paris, 1604)

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Petley, Elias, *The royall receipt: or, Hezekiahs physicke. A sermon deliuered at Pauls-Crosse, on Michaelmas Day, 1622* (B[ernard] A[lsop] for Edward Blackmore, 1622)

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Price, Daniel, *A heartie prayer, in a needfull time of trouble. The sermon preached at Theobalds, before his Maiestie, and the lords of the Priuie Councell, an houre before the death of our late soueraigne King Iames. On Sunday, March 27* (M. Flesher for Iohn Grismond, 1625)

_____ *Lamentations for the death of the late illustrious Prince Henry: and the dissolution of his religious familie. Two sermons: preached in his Highnesse chappell at Saint Iames, on the 10. and 15. day of Nouember, being the first Tuesday and Sunday after his decease* (Tho. Snodham for Roger Iackson, 1613)

Price, Sampson, *Ephesus vvarning before her woe. A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse on Passion Sunday, the 17. of March last* (G. Eld for Iohn Barnes, 1616)

_____ *The two twins of birth and death. A sermon preached in Christs Church in London, the 5. of September. 1624. By Samson Price, Doctor of Diuinitie, one of his Majesties chapleins in ordinarie. Vpon the occasion of the funeralls of Sir William Byrde Knight. Doctor of the Law, deane of the Arches, and iudge of the Prerogatiue Court of the Archbishop of Canterburie* (Edward All-de for Iohn Hodgets, 1624)

Prideaux, John, *A Christians Free-will Offering* (1621)

_____ *A sermon preached on the fifth of October 1624: at the consecration of St Iames Chappel in Exceter Colledge* (Oxford: Iohn Lichfield and William Turner, 1625)

_____ *Christs counsell for ending law cases. As it hath beene deliuered in two sermons vpon the 25th verse of the 5th of Matthew* (Ioseph Barnes, 1615)

_____ *Ephesus backsliding considered and applyed to these times, in a sermon preached at Oxford, in St Maries, the tenth of Iuly, being the Act Sunday. 1614* (Ioseph Barnes, 1614)

_____ *Hezekiahs Sicknesse and Recovery* (1621), in *Certaine sermons preached by Iohn Prideaux, rector of Exeter Colledge, his Maiestie's professor in divinity in Oxford, and chaplaine in ordinary* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1637)

_____ *Perez-Vzzah: or the breach of Vzzah. As it was deliuered in a sermon before his Maiesty at Woodstocke, August the 24. Anno 1624* (Oxford: Iohn Lichfield and William Turner, 1625)

_____ *First fruits of the Resurrection* (1621), *Certaine sermons* (1637)

Primrose, Gilbert, *The Christian mans teares, and Christs comforts. Delivered at a fast the seventh of Octob. An[n]o. 1624* (Printed for I. Bartlet, 1625)

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